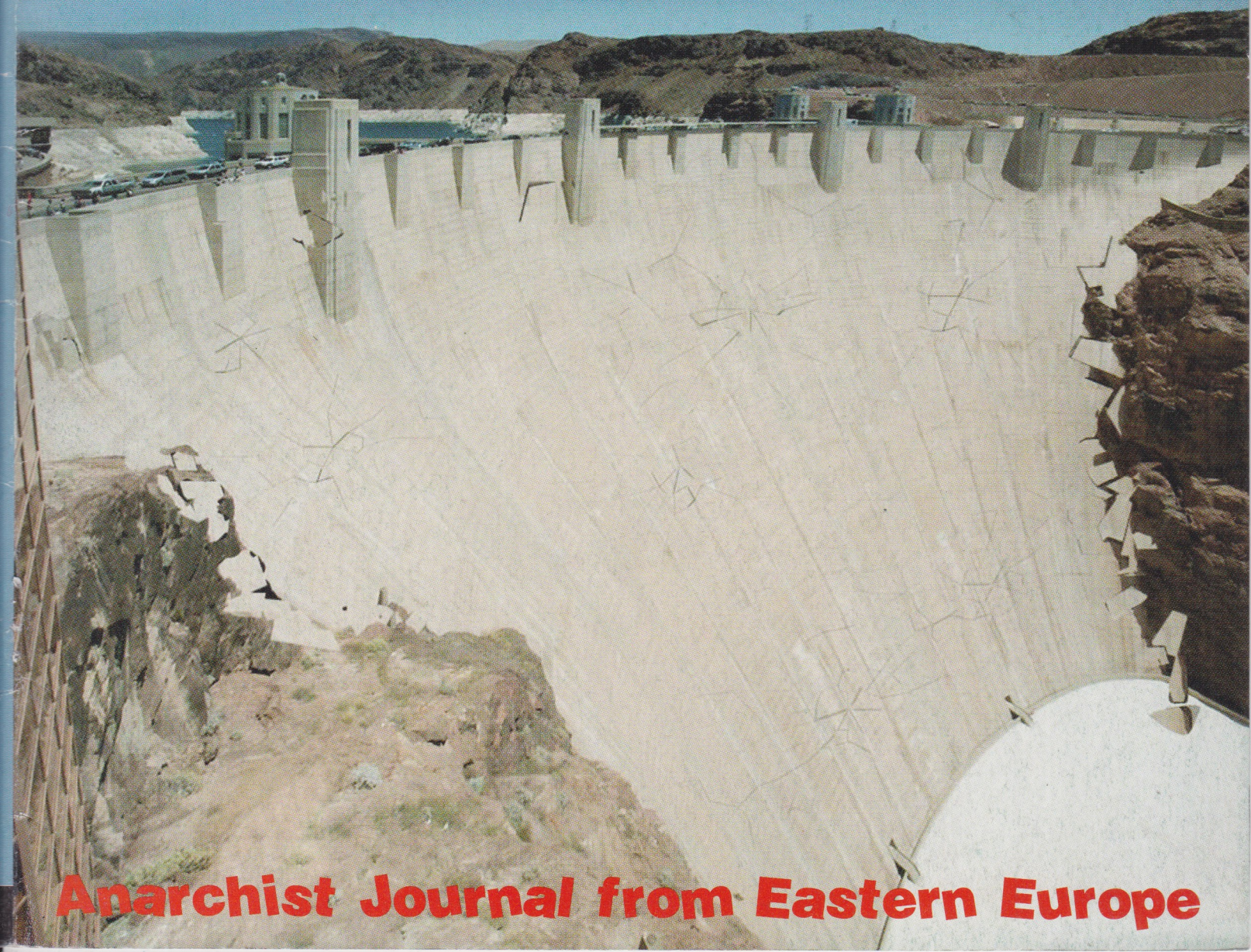


ISSUE # 36 Excitingly Irregular November 2010

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

*"As the policies of the government,
impudence of bureaucrats, capitalist practices,
ecological violations, police brutality and Nazi violence
become unbearable, more people think
that we have already hit the bottom
and something must be done."*



Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

***Abolishing the Borders from Below:
An Anarchist Journal from
Eastern Europe***

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and it's effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

"Abolishing the Borders from Below"

An Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

"AbolishingBB" is an excitingly irregular magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysed from an anarchist perspective.

EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also organized a radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings and cultural events. We also cooperate with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and support local and global struggles against all kinds of oppression and for a free-society..

CORRESPONDENTS

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our correspondents from around EE. The work is based on a relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

EXECUTORS

Publishing, editing, text treatment, translation, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, english-proof, distribution to the local distributors, website design ... all done by ABB Collective, Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB

COOPERATION

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective

as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region.

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

Free copies go to prisoners, all info-shops and libertarian librarys in Eastern Europe (who get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents. At the moment we print by ourselves 1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

FINANCES

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our costs only through selling the newspaper so we would appreciate, if possible, benefits from outside

BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its gramatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *ENGLISH* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *ENGLISH* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

www.abb.hardcore.lt

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

NOT 100%

We do not necessarily agree 100% with all opinions expressed in the journal, but all here we found worth printing (for various reasons) !!!

Contact Details for AbolishingBB and Distributors you'll find on Page 29

We are looking for correspondents from the regions of Eastland, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Turkey, Armenia und Georgia.

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**FAR FROM QUIET
ON THE
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**UNKNOWN MOMENTS
OF ANARCHIST
HISTORY:
THE LIFE OF "LIESMA
FLAME GROUP"**

ABB Editorial

One year ago we realised that we have to bring a big change into our magazine. When the ABB project started, nobody could predict the changes that were about to happen, maybe it was already visible that one day we have to improve our project. But how and in which way we could make this change happen, nobody could say in the time given. During the years we had to discover that more and more projects are interested to give news about East Europe, some of them with really reflected and uncorrupted positions and we suddenly found our place in the revolutionary movement somehow shaded. We thought our motivation and capacities were much bigger than to just convey informations from other sources. We thought that we might play a smaller role in the free autonomous media but we hoped to have a definite role and we don't want to disappoint our readers by just being an imitation platform. In this spirit we came to the idea that ABB has to be restructured and improved.

So far, the dynamics of the eastern european anarchist movements and of the societies are in permanent change. This reflection led us into a very long session of discussions. It was very difficult to find a new place for us even in the last 10 years since the magazine existed we often had times of crisis when we questioned the existence of the magazine itself. The process is far away from being finished.

At first we would be elated to represent a platform of changing ideas, provoking reflections and

opening a space for debates more than to edit a magazine where we publish news. There are now many other more specialised magazines and networks to support this segment of the struggle. We came to this point because we found it very dan-

gerous that in our publication could be dominated by a dogmatic language and by the stereotypes of articles. We thought then and we think now, that the most obnoxious thing is a dead mind, the worst that can happen is that people stop to think freely and unfortunately this is much more than just a possible danger. We think as well that an anarchist network has to be an uncensored network where we can freely and surely discuss about everything and we can be open for every kind of new perspective, of course in the perimeters of our anarchist view.



On the other hand, we are confronted with new political situations right now in East Europe. The new members of European Union and also the other eastern countries are giving a strong answer to the costs of integration and of the financial crisis. And this answer is as absurd as the crisis was. The societies from east are stormed/assaulted by a strong turn to the right-wing. From Russia to Bulgaria and from Poland to Romania the right-wing tendencies are becoming an alarming influence in the mainstream policy and the attacks of neonazis against minorities cost many victims on the streets. The number of killed people, from the side of immigrants and activists is getting higher and the streets are getting dangerous for those who represent a target of the fascists. More than that, these attacks and murders seem to be orchestrated and mediated in order to provoke fear within the societies. In

some cases the murders bear the character of political extermination especially on the cases where the targets are activists and political people, like in Russia where in the last few years more and more comrades, anarchists and antifascists, were murdered. And even more alarming is that the governments of all these countries play a role of a sustainer and protector. It seems that the fascists have to play an established role into the post-soviet world and this role is to stop the exodus of the Asian and African immigrants who are pushed by poverty and famine to look for a better life. On one side Fortress Europe, on the other Mother Russia.

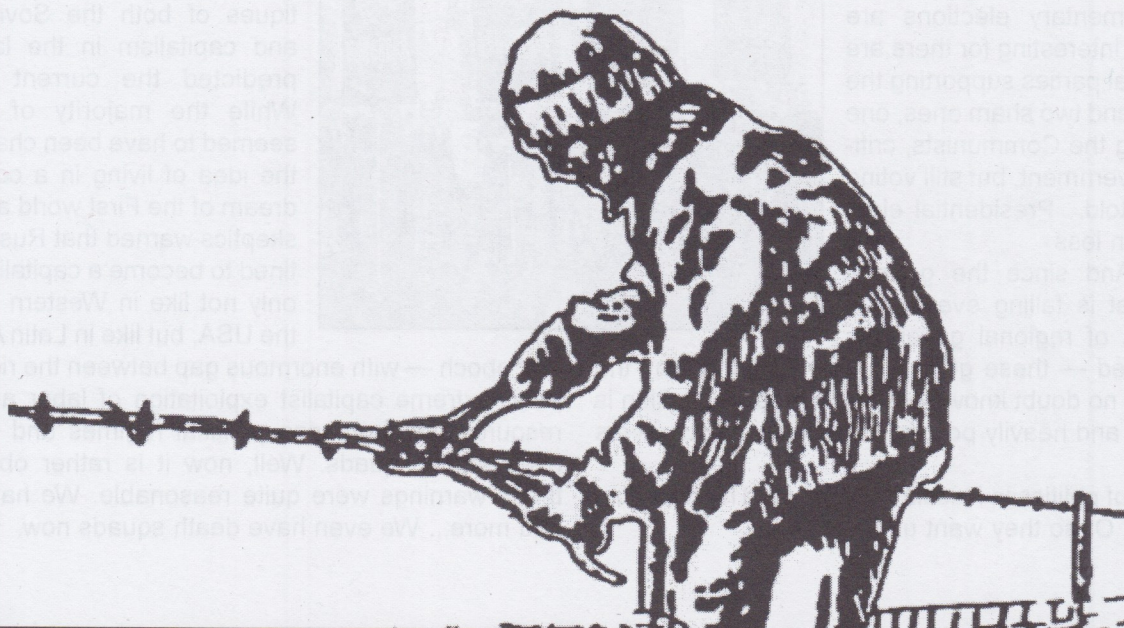
On one side Nazi murderers, on the other side state police murderers, like in the case of Maxwell Itoya, on one side the speech of Jobbik and the Magyar nation on the other side the evictions of Roma from Craiova and attentats against them in Hungary.

We can say that the eastern societies are turning into a right-winged conservative pole mostly because people are mainly disappointed by the capitalism they experienced in the last 20 years after the Berlin wall was falling down. Out of any speculation, there is a clear statement of the right wing from everywhere to protect the national values against globalisation and neoliberalism. What we don't understand or better to say we don't want to understand is why this disappointment is being taken out on the poor people and why the repression as well is directed against the poor people, immigrants or homeless, like in Czech

neonazi attacks, and against the activists who fights on their side. We cannot say more than that the nazis are doing what the government wants, or that the government itself is fascist. We cannot really prove if they collaborate and we are not interested in conspiracy theories but one thing is sure, they have the same interest -to kill people in the name of nation, to provoke fear and madness in order to control the masses.

Against this new face of the east we want to fight with all our power and energy because we see it as an ultimatum before a new institution of a society close-by. We want to fight against all the conservative tendencies, all the state oppression and all the nationalists who wants to turn East Europe into a region of hate and mass murder again. In this spirit, we salute the new collectives, initiatives and groups which were formed recently together with all our comrades which keep up the struggle since many years and sometimes pay with their life; the price of freedom. We are very glad to find out that many of our old comrades answered to our letters to correspondants and that they are actively interested in what's happening with Abb.

We thank you for your support and we hope there is a way to work together for the next issues. On the end we also want to thank our supporters and friends from Black Socks and Le Sabot for their contribution which makes our life till the next issues a bit more easy. From Berlin with solidarity,
ABB



Background: Russia today

Far from quiet on Eastern front

by Mikhail Tsovma

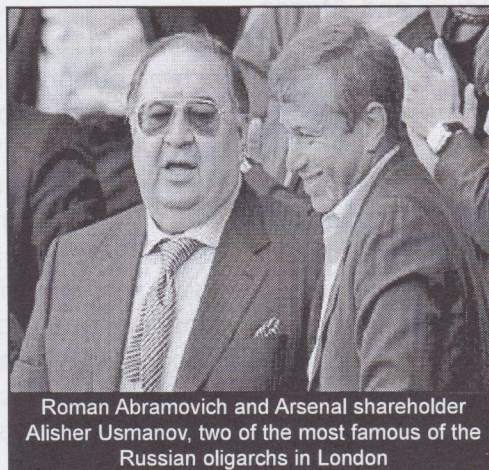
Russia seems to be less and less present in the news. Be it Euronews, BBC or CNN, there is hardly anything there about a vast territory east of Finland, north of China. In a way, it is understandable — there are no massive protest movements, strikes, changes of government or something of that kind there. Gas supplies to Europe are sometimes troubled, but still relatively stable. Oil flows to the world markets, and so do metals and timber. The rich Russian oligarchs get richer (and end up in London), and the poor stay poor (and remain largely silent). It looks like Putin will remain Russia's Tsar forever. From time to time something blows up and the pictures of victims make it to the news...

But is it correct to say that nothing else happens there? It's true — there are no massive social movements in Russia at the moment and the ones that exist usually don't make it to the news. But we need to look more carefully at what is happening in Russia for there are both very grave and very important developments going on, which among other things call for solidarity with Russian activists.

Putin's decade

Ten years after Mr. Putin's ascent to power in Russia — and of course nobody should be fooled by the formal presidency of Mr. Medvedev at the moment — the country has reached quite a peculiar point in its development. Parliamentary elections are less and less interesting for there are just two official parties supporting the government and two sham ones, one of them being the Communists, criticizing the government, but still voting as they are told. Presidential elections are even less interesting. And since the general public interest is falling ever lower, the elections of regional governors were abolished — these guys are now appointed by the Kremlin, who no doubt knows better. Political opposition is marginalized and heavily policed. Practically all observers now state the absence of politics in Russia these days. The thing just doesn't exist! Or so they want us to believe.

The relatively independent mass media has disappeared already a few years ago (although self-censorship of the media and journalists is probably also a big problem), however, there is one newspaper, that keeps its critical stance towards the government, and of course, there is Internet.



Roman Abramovich and Arsenal shareholder Alisher Usmanov, two of the most famous of the Russian oligarchs in London

But for the public at large these things hardly exist — most of the people are provided with a steady diet of state propaganda and official news (or else, bad news), TV series about cops, family sagas and endless variety shows. Dictatorships are not just things that fall on us from above, they are reproduced by the people, who are conditioned in authoritarian way — when they are scared, tired, look forward to comfort or prefer the «easier» way of living this life without thinking about the consequences always.

Other brutal realities of Russian social life include violations of basic human freedoms and rights, ever increasing capitalist exploitation in the absence of any massive trade union organizing, extreme police brutality. Moreover, there is overwhelming corruption and the lack of any working state administration, which at times threatens to paralyze the whole system itself and makes it completely unmanageable. There is a growing understanding, even among the bureaucrats, that the system is very vulnerable. Hence their fears...



In a way anarchist and leftist critiques of both the Soviet regime and capitalism in the late 1980s predicted the current situation. While the majority of Russians seemed to have been charmed with the idea of living in a consumerist dream of the First world at the time, skeptics warned that Russia is destined to become a capitalist country, only not like in Western Europe or the USA, but like in Latin America of

that epoch — with enormous gap between the rich and the poor, extreme capitalist exploitation of labor and natural resources, authoritarian political regimes and eventually even death squads. Well, now it is rather obvious that these warnings were quite reasonable. We have all that and more... We even have death squads now.

Bureaucrats and extremists

Two important features characterize modern Russia and the general atmosphere of social activism recently. These are the increasingly arbitrary «anti-extremist» policy (which often results in de facto prevention and often criminalization of social activism as such) and the rise of neo-Nazi terrorism. The government and local bureaucrats are very much afraid of social protests, so much that they are more than willing to label any social activism «extremist» - it is easier to forbid anything in the old Russian/Soviet fashion. As for rise of extreme right wing movements and violence (the real «extremism»), they were to a great extent nourished by the government.

Several years ago presidential advisors came up with an idea, which they considered to be great - «manageable nationalism»! A thing that will distract the masses from real causes of social problems and channel their negative energies into something that can be manipulated. While the government was already playing in the field of nationalists with its extreme patriotic propaganda, the glorious idea of Russian statehood and the like, it has also decided it can use the nationalist movements. Back in 2005 even a new holiday was invented for them, the Day of national unity of November 4 (to commemorate the defeat of Polish invaders in the 17th century — some important thing to celebrate!). Since then this occasion was actively used by Russian nationalists and outright Nazis for their legal marches. Right-wing Movement against illegal immigration (DPNI) was established and flourished for some time, as well as some other xenophobic and openly Nazi organizations. But as time went by, these actors were less and less willing to follow Kremlin's scenarios and were more and more willing to play an independent role.

Non-accidental deaths of anti-fascists

Violence against prominent public figures, journalists and human rights activists sometimes makes it to the front pages of the international media. The murder of journalist Anna Politkovskaya in 2006, human rights activist Natalya Estemirova in 2009 or some liberal politicians earlier were big scandals (as well as the mysterious poisoning of Litvinenko in London, although he was hardly a real dissident). More recently, though, the faces of the murdered activists became younger, and if we look closer at the



Natalya Estemirova

facts that are reported (or not) in the media, we will see some important changes.

Recently Russia witnessed a growing wave of ultra-right-wing racist violence, which for some time was in fact nurtured by the government, who failed to react to Nazi terror. Nazi violence — mainly against immigrants, people of color, but also against anti-fascists, anarchist and progressive social activists - was on the rise.

Recently we have also witnessed the emergence of Nazi underground, which is an increasingly terrorist force.

On January 19, 2009 prominent Russian lawyer Stanislav Markelov was shot in the head in the very centre of Moscow, and while the journalist Anastasia Baburova, who accompanied him, tried to stop the murderer, she was also shot. This case has stirred an international scandal, for Markelov was a well-known defender of Chechen civilian victims of police and military brutalities and various social activists, including anti-fascists. He was also a socialist,

who cooperated actively with anarchists. And Baburova was not only a reporter for the oppositional Novaya Gazeta, but also an activist of anarchist and anti-fascist movement. These facts were less publicized. Also less known to the public are the deaths of other Russian social activists, including anarchists and anti-fascists, that happened recently and that were made often in the same way as the murder of Markelov and Baburova.



For a while police pretended not to notice the problem or to state that there is just some strange war between two youth subcultures — Nazi skin-heads and anti-fascists. But the situation went out of control and the existence of Nazi terrorism in Russia is finally admitted officially. The most recent murder was that of a judge, that sentenced Nazis to prison sentences.

In June 2004 in St.Petersburg Nikolay Girenko, a human rights activist and expert who testified in courts against racist attackers, was killed with shots fired through the

door of his apartment. In November 2005 Timur Kacharava, a young musician and anti-fascist activist, was murdered following a Food Not Bombs action in St.Petersburg, he was killed with knives by a dozen Nazi skinheads. In April 2006, also in St.Petersburg, Nazis shot a Black student from Senegal, Samba Lanpsar, who was active in an anti-racist NGO. Same month in Moscow anti-fascist activist Alexander Ryukhin was



attacked by a gang of Nazis with knives and killed on a way to an anti-fascist concert. A similar attack in Moscow also took the life of Alexey Krylov in March 2008. In July 2007 an ecological protest camp against imports of nuclear waste into Russia was attacked in Angarsk, Siberia, by a gang of Nazis, who no doubt were acting on the unofficial order of the local authorities and the police, - one of the protestors, Ilya Borodayenko, was stabbed to death. (Three years later the case has still not appeared before the court because the investigators don't do their job properly.) In October 2008 in Moscow Fyodor Filatov, one of the leading organizers of anti-fascist resistance and an anti-racist skinhead, was stabbed at the entrance to his flat. Ilya Dzhaparidze, also an anti-fascist organizer in Moscow, who was active among football fans, was killed the same way in Moscow in July 2009. In January 2009 Nazis shot Stanislav Markelov and Anastasia Baburova, both active anti-fascists. In November 2009 Nazi bullet took the life of Ivan Khutorskoy, one of the leading organizers of street anti-fascists in Moscow.

These are just the cases when people were killed, while there are numerous others, which involved only injuries (and there are cases of attempted bomb attacks against anti-fascist concerts or houses). According to the report published by Sova Centre, about 22% of all Nazi attacks in 2009 were aimed against anti-fascists. The style of the murders is the same as the one used in racist killings — attacks in group and multiple knife wounds, which are lethal, or, more recently, also gunshots.

Until now the antifascist movement has a policy of not killing Nazis in revenge. That's a very strong moral statement and a noble stand, but nobody knows for how long this can be sustained. (And, of course, there are already cases of deaths of Nazis — one such accident took place when an anti-fascist in Odessa, Ukraine, was defending himself against an attack by a Nazi gang and accidentally killed one of the attackers. Ukraine, it seems, also starts to have a problem with growing Nazi violence, although the scale is still not as large as in Russia.)



Not running away

With the establishment of an increasingly authoritarian government of president Putin after 1999-2000 and the emergence of new problems (authoritarian police regime, the war and continuing troubles in Chechnya and the Caucasus, terrorism, growth of xenophobia and the continuing rise of the Nazi movement in Russia) anarchist movement was also growing stronger, as a reaction to these negative developments. Anarchists in Russia are generally part of various social struggles, same as other progressive social activists. Moreover, in the face of growing nationalism in Russia, anarchists and anti-authoritarians constitute the core of anti-fascist movement and are



among the most consistent internationalists in the situation when the left is largely non-existent in Russia. (The peculiarity of the situation is that there is no strong left in Russia at all. Obviously the Communist parties cannot be considered «left» in any meaningful terms, because they are Stalinist, nationalistic, extremely authoritarian and xenophobic. There are some non-Stalinist left groups, but they are usually smaller in size than the anarchists.) That is why it

is no coincidence that anarchists and our close allies are among the regular victims of Nazi violence recently. Both the anarchist movement and the larger anti-fascist movement in Russia is predominantly young, 16 to 25 years old being the average age. And the victims of Nazi terror against the anti-fascists are also strikingly young.

Yes, same as elsewhere, we also have debates in Russia about whether we should fight against fascism or against capitalism. There are those who argue quite convincingly — usually before the computer keyboard and screen only - that we should first of all fight capitalism, because it is at the root of all the problems. Quite so, one should not forget about fighting capitalism and the state in the midst of anti-fascist struggles. But we do not have much choice regarding whether to fight or not to fight fascism here and now and what exactly should be the order on our list of priorities.



Where do we go from here?

One of the main problems for anarchists and progressive social activists in Russia remains the same: most people traditionally don't believe in «political», that is collective, action and the possibility of achieving anything through it. In a way this is a legacy of several hundred years of very repressive state administration, which survived through both the Tsarist times and the Communist regime. Some traditions die very hard! This mood also seems to be supported by the current progressing social atomisation in Russia, which is one of the consequences of neoliberal reforms.

Recently slowly, but steadily social activism is re-emerging in Russia in the face of growing repressive state, overwhelming corruption and capitalist practices, which become ever wilder. There is a growing disbelief in Putin's regime, which more and more resembles Soviet-style administration, but this disbelief still leaves many people paralyzed as the ideas and tools for change are lacking. Social movements are very weak, there are no well-established forms and organizations which can be instruments of civil action (be it unions or local initiatives). But in recent months we also saw a number of protests which were aimed explicitly against the government and its policies and which were attended by more people than before. As the policies of the government, impudence of bureaucrats, capitalist practices, ecological violations, police brutality and Nazi violence become really unbearable, more people think that we have already hit the bottom and something must be done.

However the very atmosphere of social activism in Russia remains very repressive (and becomes even more repressive recently). Besides the constant surveillance of activists by the police and FSB, raids on offices of social and political organizations (even very law-abiding and peaceful NGOs), there are rather strict limitations on protests. For example, there is a widespread practice by the local Russian authorities to ban or make practically impossible any legal manifestations or sometimes even small pickets. In Russia you have to warn authorities 10 days in advance if you want to have a rally or manifestation (if I'm not mistaken, similar regulations once existed in Chile under Pinochet). In practice (although not according to the law) they may not even give you a permission. Sometimes even if you have a permission, that still doesn't mean that your rally will not be illegally and brutally stopped by the police. That makes any open street protest and activism very difficult, often confined to a small square behind police barriers, at times it makes it impossible. And imagine your comrade was killed



by Nazis or brutalized by the police? Do you wait for 10 days to express your protest?

But the anarchists with their practice of illegal demonstrations in recent years are sometimes better of than the rest of the opposition, because they basically don't ask for permissions and have the opportunity to plan and hold their actions in spite of the police. There still can be a very restricted field

for action — you can only make a fast-going manifestation, as you may be sure that the overwhelming and brutal police forces will arrive pretty soon after they learn about the protest. But at least you can do something in a rather visible and sometimes quite efficient way. On numerous occasions anarchists in Moscow and St.Petersburg were able to have manifestations in this way, blocking the traffic on central streets (for example, during the campaign against police brutality and during protests over Nazi murders of comrades). There is also a growing practice of confrontation with the police if it prevents or restricts legal assemblies (as was the case with the anti-fascist manifestation on January 19, 2010). So in this respect, although not without problems, but anarchist street politics are developing and anarchists are able to slowly build up a protest culture of their own.

One of the Russian writers once said that «there are two main disasters in Russia — the power of evil at the bottom and the evil of power at the top». Back in 1886 he was

referring to the mutually reinforcing duality of authoritarian state administration and the lack of enlightenment and civil consciousness of the people. This is a pretty universal statement that could be made in 1916, 1936 or 2006 - we still have this problem, very much so, it seemed to have disappeared at times, but kept coming back. And we have no choice, but to fight this state of things.



However, in these struggles it would be helpful to know and feel that we are not fighting it on our own and international solidarity is still a powerful tool. As experience shows, Russian bureaucrats are still worried about their international reputation, so solidarity actions in front of the Russian embassies may be rather effective (as well as other means of protest and solidarity). Unfortunately, the situation in Russia doesn't give one an idea that such actions will not be needed soon.

(The article was first published in Italian in A Rivista Anarchica, No.355, summer 2010. Italian version - http://www.anarca-bolo.ch/a-rivista/355/dossier_Russia1.htm)

Notes of a co-conspirator

This is an antifascist story. Very personal memories about one of the leading figures of the russian antifascist movement, a Moscow anarchist, killed not long time ago by neonazis. You should definitely read this text! It was originally written for „ Avtonom“-magazine (AbolishingBB)

“You are made of some different fabric. You are way more prepared than me for this kind of shit. I figured it out, when you told me by telephone, that Vanya is not anymore” - a young comrade put it like this once, in the frame of one discussion. We were standing on the platform of a metro train station, wagons of steel were scurrying on metallic rails. Their metallic clamps were squeezing my insides. Yes, my young friend, I am definitely ready for this shit. Upon the death of Vanya, in spirit I was already in my 4th decade, although my physical age will correspond to that much later. My twenties I had spent in a skinhead-casual frenzy, spiced with an anarcho-communist baggage of ideas. For me, all those years passed side by side with two guys. One of them left all of that behind a long time ago, now he is more into stuff like wives/mistresses/kids/cars. The other one was Vanya. If I will be alive, healthy, and out of jail my fourth decade will not be boring either, but it will not be the same.

xxx

We met around the year 2004. I was looking for new comrades, to get busy with some good old ultra-violence. It was already about a year after the collapse of the crew around FC “Mosenergo”, and nothing much was going on. Practically, there were none of the right people around me. Back then, it was considered that you needed a mob of ten, 20 or 30 to give the enemy a decent beating. And who was around? Mostly stupid kids from the forum of antifa.ru website, even some total morons from the youth organisation of liberal “Yabloko” party. The only person from antifa.ru, who made any sense was Dzhey, for whom the first album of “Proverochnaya Lineyka” was later dedicated. But there are no obstacles, over which you may not run with some persistence. Morons vanished, normal people kept coming around. And step by step, we gathered a crew, of maybe twenty people, which was capable of some action. Some people, who later became widely known, were around: DJ Stalingrad, Fedyay, Vanya. Later on, Shkobor came around (I already knew him from the times of the Mosenergo, but for a while he dropped out of Antifa, attempting to make a career as a Spartak hooligan). Later on, Tigran, whose house was bombed, came around, as well as Ilya Dzhaparidze. And of course, a number of other other impressive personalities were around as well. But Loshak is right “it’s better to only write about the deceased antifa, and those who are already famous, and not to uncover those who are not yet famous.” Before Vanya met us, he was fighting boneheads at punk concerts. Just as Dzhey was fighting Nazis with his hip-hop friends; unaffiliated with the infamous White Smoke Clan gang, famous due to its street war with boneheads in the late 1990’s and early 2000’s. Back then, in the middle of the 2000’s, Antifa in Moscow was a clear minority. There were no any obvious ways to meet them anywhere. But if you began to trash boneheads, there would always be some common acquaintances, who connected you with colleagues. And this is how Vanya joined. His first action with us was a total disaster. Some foolish kids invited

around 15 of us to the military town of Zarya in the Moscow region. There, a mixed crowd of local boneheads converged, football hooligans and just rednecks defending “the reputation of their town” against Muscovites, a crowd several times bigger than ours. I was lucky and did not end up going to that one. Taking into account that our side came with iron bars, it is still a mystery that nobody ended up in the morgue. Nobody got anything worse than a concussion, but this adventure did not break Vanya’s spirits, and he began to come around.

xxx

We made two or three attacks each month. In the middle of the 2000’s there were plenty of places in Moscow (known park benches, metro entrances), where you could drop in and find Nazis. There were also plenty of more or less right-winged gigs. Some of them were easy, you could target whoever came out from the hall, with other ones you had to be more careful, as right-wingers were only 20-30% of the crowd. Back then, there were almost no “travmats” (rubber-bullet guns) and the habit of carrying knives was just emerging; fights took place mostly without weapons, sometimes pepper gas was used, sometimes beer bottles and iron bars. This relative harmlessness resulted in a carefree life; there were way more fights than nowadays, often they took place in public places, even under CCTV cameras. For example, nowadays I would not be very much into attacking a Nazi in a running metro wagon. If he pulls a knife, it is highly likely that he must be killed, your face will be taped, and even if you are not arrested at the next station you are in big shit. But back in the days it was the most common thing to give a Nazi a boot in a running train: the length of travel between two stations in the Moscow metro is pretty much one boxing round, and in the next station you disappeared from the spot, with a light sweat under your shirt. Some Nazis got seriously wounded after coming across us. Although a couple of times cops nicked one or more of us at the spot of such fights, there was never a single felony case. Mostly we were just lucky, every time when someone got nicked, no Nazi had been seriously hurt. On the other hand, the word “Antifa” was familiar to FSB (ex-KGB) only, and to a small minority of younger and more clever cops. Back then cops did not have any quota of extremists that they were required to catch, and thus they were thinking like average lads: maybe these guys had reasons not to like each other, and if nobody got injured permanently or killed, it was apparently not worth it to dig into the reasons behind it. We were not creating a spin around these fights, but they gained us notoriety amongst Nazis and youth subcultures in general. Nazis tried to find us, without a success, jumping random alternative kids. A few years later, I met a RASH-skinhead who told me a story of how he became an anarchist skinhead. One day, he was walking down the street, with a Yegor Letov shirt on; Nazis beat him up, arguing that he was a redskin. He got interested in what that was about, he read about it from the internet and came to the conclusion that

redskins are cool. A very typical story. A couple of words about "United Brigade 46" (OB46), a fake antifa project of Nazis. They succeeded in trapping and beating up, now deceased, Vanya and Fedyay, as well as Shkobar and a fourth person, and to make a video out of it. This footage is still often shown on TV, usually in the wrong context, as part of programs about Nazis and antifa in the mainstream media. OB46 began to make itself name for about half a year before this famous day came for them. They made a website, and wrote rather stupid things, but in the antifa-style. People started an exchange with them, during which their stupidity became even more obvious. I did not suspect them of being Nazis, but cops from Petrovka 38, and I tried to persuade people not to have anything to do with them. The fourth person from the video decided that they were normal lads, who just write stupid things due to their lack of enlightenment. Once, he almost exposed us, which would could have had horrible consequences. It was during the time of the Nazi-pagan music festival "Koloyar". After a lot of these festivals, people got hurt. It became clear to the organisers, that someone is after their visitors and they decided to take measures to defend themselves. Before yet another edition of the festival, which was organised not far from the "Oktyabrskoye pole" metro station, they made a deal with the local cops, who promised to dispatch extra patrols in the region. We decided that this was not worth it, and we also changed tactics. Temnozor was about to perform, and we found an excellent quote from their lyrics "I see the hour is coming, when crosses are burning, when there will be no mercy for priests in churches, when once again the gods of Russia are praised, and people are splitting to the deceitful eyes of the crucified kike". We started to spread it all over the internet that such a group was going to perform. Our efforts gave results and even some deputies wanted to interfere. The only thing we had to do was to call them, but then Shkobar figured out that with such a big PR campaign the festival could be called off altogether and in that case there would be no chance to kick some Nazi ass. We agreed, and did not get deputies involved. Besides cops, around 100 Nazis from their leading crews came around, eager to find us. We were about twenty, but we managed to deceive them and to smash a group of people going to the concert, thus making our point. However, without asking anyone's opinion, the aforementioned "fourth hero of the video" met the representatives of the OB46 around one hour before our action, and told them "well we are going to jump them now, bring your crew and join us." However, Nazi reconnaissance was too cowardly and therefore, never learned our convergence point. Thus, in the end the "OB46" project was way less successful than it could have been. We organised gigs as well. Now most of the hip-hop, punk, ska and hardcore are more or less anti-fascist, but back then, the antifa-scene was totally underground, secret and marginal. Concerts were usually organised by DJ Stalingrad. We rented small clubs in the suburbs (the main income of which were trashy discos on the weekends), on the weekdays and Sundays. The sound systems were horrible, our gathering spots a tightly guarded secret. The first of these concerts was legendary, above any praise. No Heads and Klowns were to play. Around 60 people stuffed themselves in a small rehearsal basement. The owner of the place figured out what was going on, and came asking "what is this shit, I am not a fool, 'Korroziya Metalla' is practicing here and you are organising a concert without asking me anything". This did not put DJ Stalingrad off, he

made a few phone calls and we all moved to the metro station "Vodny Stadion" where, after one and a half hour the gig started, with a sound system straight from the USSR in a ballet rehearsal space in some obscure building.

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I've been involved in plenty of anarchist projects in which we put in a lot of time and effort, and tried to be creative about it, but nevertheless without any result whatsoever. When it comes to Antifa, what is different from a number of Western countries is that, in Russia the phenomenon appeared around a somewhat narrow issue of self-organisation of sub-cultural youth to counteract bonehead outrage in concerts. Not that much effort was put into the Antifa, but at some point it began to grow like an avalanche. At one moment we figured out that our human resources were no longer 20 fighters, but around one hundred. We had to decide what to do in these new circumstances. It was my opinion, that we should split into crews of 10-20 people and become more and more professional, terrorize Nazis in such a way which that it would not annoy police. Shkobar, Fedyay, DJ Stalingrad, on the contrary, considered that it was cool to organise high-profile fights. We had conflicts, tensions, and dislike came into the picture; for several years I did not even shake hands with Fedyay; the first time after a long break was around half a year before he was murdered. Vanya was hesitating, uncertain of which of the two approaches would be the best one, but he was tending more towards picking mine. Then he was jumped at his doorway, his head was hit with a baseball bat, face and neck were pierced all over with a sharpened screwdriver. He had to spend five months in a hospital, and obviously, it took much more time to be fit for fighting again. And so, the show-off strategy prevailed. Mobs were from 30 up to 110, the highest number being reached in the action against a right-wing concert in the "Tochka"-club. With bottles, iron bars and flares, various nationalist concerts and events were attacked. This went on for a year or a year and a half, maybe ten or 15 such attacks. Recognition came from the mainstream media and even more on internet forums. I was an opponent of such actions, the risk was too big and not worth it, and my relations with the organisers of those actions were somewhat cold. I do not want to set the record straight in public, I just want to say that around the group of people, which organised all these things, the further it went, the more all the kinds of pointless shit came down. People started to come up, who wanted to trash Nazis but not with the "main group". In general, there were more and more people all the time with no chances whatsoever to organise them all into one mob. There was also the story with the inquiry of Duma deputy Alksnis, about the criminal case he insisted be opened against "a group organising riots". This limited the activities of "main group" a lot, although I still have not figured out why they did not jail all of them back then. Either the cops were too lazy, or from the point of view of the state propaganda it was not considered beneficial to have a court process against antifascists in "the country which defeated fascism." Especially, as back then, the official opinion of the police force was that there are no fascists whatsoever in Russia, just the occasional hooliganism by the restless youth.

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Finally, Vanya was back in shape and a group got organised around him. Later, Nazis and investigators from Petrovka called it "the Kostolom gang". The "main group" was not happy with this new initiative, during the first half a year their relations with us were rather cold. We could mobilize from 15 to 30 fighters of varying quality, from 16 to 25 years old. From time to time we acted together with other groups. We had a detachment of scouts, frail 16-19 year old girls. Almost all of them found boyfriends among those for whom they did reconnaissance work. A couple of these girls, however, found guys from the opposite camp, which of course was an epic fail; obviously they were excluded from everything, but they already knew way too much. Vanya organised trainings. In the beginning, it was an all-out trashy gym at the very edge of Moscow: With rusty irons, boxing pearls, and no shower. It was straight from Romper Stomper or Russia 88. Then we lost it, and for some time we had a way better gym, without irons but with a shower and mats, Vanya was teaching us Sambo. We also went to forest to beat each other with gloves, we called it "Boykovski klub", "Fight Club", which was later shortened to Beka. Since then, Beka has become a word widely adopted into the jargon of Russian Antifa. There were plenty of fights. The one I liked the most was when we were riding in the metro around yet another "Russian march." Some kids entered the wagon, all around full of Russian imperial (black-golden-white) flags. One of them was especially distinguished by his black "shitcrushers" (combat boots), black ski-mask and an imperial flag armband. The new passengers looked around the wagon, and one of them said "Let us make a 'White wagon'" (a Nazi slang term for a pogrom in the metro). "It is our people here!" We were laughing so much we were about to drop. "What if they are Antifa?" - another young patriot was wondering. He had barely uttered the words, when the doors closed, and from then on imperial flags were just flying all over the wagon. We were almost caught by the cops, but retreated successfully. I think we actually saved those morons, if they had just jumped on someone with such an outlook, most likely they would have been sent to Kolyma straight from the underground. But with us they just lost few teeth and got few concussions, but could roam free.

xxx

The violence was constantly escalating. The murder of Timur Kacharava was political news at a national level, as well as the murder of Aleksandr Ryukhin. Even the attack by Nazis against musicians returning from a concert in the Moscow region (the bassist of the group "Shlyuz" was seriously wounded) was generally considered a senseless outrage. But actually, there is nothing surprising in such an escalation. Nobody has extra ribs and kidneys to be wasted. A knife in your pocket is some minimal guarantee that you will save them. And, if you know that a person you are about to jump has a knife in his pocket, most likely you would like to have one as well. Once, we caught some Nazis around an event of the NSO, "National-Socialist Society" (later its members were sentenced in a series of court cases for some heavy racial serial killing). We were around fifteen in the center of Moscow, we walked down the street with the distance growing between each other. I saw two big boneheads, around fifteen meters from me, jumped by those of us who were closest to them. One of us gassed them, another one aimed to the head and shoots with rubber bullets. Then a shout - "he has a knife!". I moved towards them and unconsciously open my

knife. One Nazi is lying on the ground, another scoundrel, also gassed, runs away fast, although the road is jammed with cars. He gets away. We figured out that two of us had been stabbed. Rubber bullets had made it through an open door of a bank, security was running out with machine guns, dressed in bulletproof vests. They started to help the wounded, and advised us to get the fuck out before police showed up. We gave the lying Nazi some goodbyes and vanished. Due to the escalation of violence, many people left Antifa for good. I think this was because they understood the conflict in the frame of the subculture, and obviously not so many people are ready to risk their lives for some nice music. I do not consider myself as an especially brave person, but to me the conflict with fascism was always an ideological one. If you look at the "fa/antifa" issue in a political, instead of sub-cultural context, you might be more prepared for such situations. It became clear that back then the mob was not prepared for the toughness of it all. We invited maybe half a hundred persons to each fight, once we had a meeting with the 15 most active people. We checked the list of people who we invited, and figured out that none of the persons present knew more than five of them. And this was under the threat of police provocations, fascist infiltration, danger from the persons we simply never double-checked, and from the side of blowhards as well... Besides that, amongst us and amongst the skinheads around our crew, there were not only friends of the bottle, but also people who, when boozing, were into beating up someone, whoever came around. Once, such a case ended up in a shootout with local rednecks in one of the cities of the Moscow region. Fortunately, the rednecks decided not to pursue the conflict any further, whereas it was 50 of our people waiting in the bushes for 3 hours with iron bars. And in case there had been a fight, someone could have gotten killed.

All because someone got drunk and had his nose broken...

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Due to all of this, our group got reorganised. How, you will learn when I reached my fifth decade. I kept contact with Vanya, we had various projects. Last time I saw him alive was in our mixed martial arts tournament "No surrender!". Then I called him a couple of times, wanted to have a talk... around the time he got shot. I wanted to have a talk about his role as a public person, in a situation where everyone understood that he was a key person. I was afraid that after any bullshit, if cops got annoyed, Vanya would be the first person they would send to jail. They had just trumped up a case against Shkobor and he did one year in prison, there were some fresh stories for which they could nail Vanya on... I wanted to explain that to Vanya, to sit down and to think what to do with his image. But a Nazi bullet to the back of the head canceled all that. Vanya was one of those people, in the way of whom even trams don't want to get. He was an anarchist, dropped in at editorial meetings of the Avtonom-journal, even wrote something for us. But for him, the first priority was always the war between Nazis and RASH. I would not say that he was one of my best friends, but he was often around at my birthday, I visited his, a couple of times we celebrated the new year together. It is hard to say, but I think that during the last years of his life, he did not have much more involvement in it than recreational activities and resistance with us, the co-conspirators.

zjudez

Battle for Khimki in Moscow

For years people have struggled against the clearing of the Khimki forest (which is one of the last existing forests on the outskirts of Moscow) to build a new toll highway between Moscow and St. Petersburg. When the decision was made in 2007 to build the highway, Khimki residents formed a movement to preserve the forest. Unfortunately, the Khimki town administration has consistently ignored the results of environmental impact statements and public hearings on the project, as well as proposed alternative routes for the highway. Local activists and journalists who have spoken out about this problem have been subjected to threats and attacks. The four most well-known (but far from the only) incidents of this nature are the vicious attacks on local journalist Mikhail Beketov (2008) and local civil rights activist Albert Pchelintsev (2009), who both miraculously survived, the murder of newspaper worker Sergei Protazanov (2009), and the unsuccessful attempt to run over activist Yevgenia Chirikova with a car (2010). Khimki residents who have participated in the defense of the forest have regularly been targets of police provocations and attacks by unknown assailants. They have been violently detained during pickets, tortured in police custody, blockaded in their own apartments, and had their cars and apartments torched. These actions by the Khimki administration and its partners are explained by the significant commercial interest they have in seeing that the highway construction project is completed. The planned highway would be the first such toll road in Russia, connecting the country's two largest cities, Moscow and Petersburg. Along with the highway itself, the project includes plans for the construction of service and maintenance infrastructure, hotels, and residential buildings. The project thus promises enormous profits if realized, and that is why its backers are so keen to ignore both the law and the value of individual human lives.

In July 2010 an eco-camp was set up in the forest where activists, anarchists, anti-fascists and members of local peoples rights groups participated. Later in that month around 40 people, later to be identified as members of the extreme right hooligan group known in Moscow as the "Gladiators", threatened the people at the camp and proceeded to protect the workers who started to clear the forest. Some protestors managed to get through to the construction machinery to block the work but they were hit and pushed back. An hour later the riot police came and arrested the eco-activists and journalists. Over the next few days the access road into the forest was under surveillance from police and local "rented muscle", any one who wanted to go to the forest were stopped and forced away using violence.

On July 28th there was a street concert "For the Khimki Forest". When a few hundred people had gathered, it was announced on a megaphone that people were going to go to Khimki and everyone was invited to come. At 8pm that evening, a few hundred Anarchists and Anti-fascists arrived in Khimki. As expected, there was police already in the forest to prevent the protest. About 300-400 people went to Administrative offices of the building company. During the demonstration, a few windows were broken, and demonstrators spray-painted the slogan "Save the Russian forest!" in two places on the wall. The group got on a train back to Moscow, the action lasted for 15 minutes and no one was arrested. This action was widely

reported and discussed in the press

After this action on July 28th, the activists found in the Khimki forest were arrested by riot cops for the action even though they did not participate. The police began to call known anti-authoritarian and anti-fa activists and invite them to "have a talk". A journalist who was took photos and filmed at the action in Khimki was arrested and one apartment was searched.



On July 29th Alexej Gaskarov and Maxim Solopov, both well known anti-fa and anti-authoritarian activists in Russia, were arrested without any clear charges against them. Their arrests involved numerous violations of procedure and law: their arrest protocols were drawn up to report that they had been arrested "at the scene of the crime" and absurd "eyewitness" testimony was fabricated against them. It was thought that they could get up to 7 years in prison if they were charged with "organisation of mass

hooliganism". They both were kept in prison, to do this the judges violated the assumption of innocence while the investigation obtained confessions by force from hundreds of arrested and persecuted individuals, until their court dates. On October 18th, Khimki town court has ruled to change the pre-trial restriction for Maxim Solopov from arrest to a written pledge not to leave town. On October 15 Moscow regional court has annulled the previous decision of Khimki town court for the prolongation of the arrest of another arrested in the Khimki case, Alexey Gaskarov. On October 22, Alexei Gaskarov was released from police custody in a Khimki municipal courtroom. Judge made the decision to release Gaskarov on his own recognizance, ignoring an appeal from the prosecution to leave him in police custody.

To continue with the already vast amount of solidarity, there has been a call for days of action from November 12th -15th.

What is being called for:



1. Organizing, during the days of action from the 12th to the 15th of November 2010, actions impacting official political and cultural events organized by the Russian authorities, as well as in front of embassies and consulates of the Russian Federation, demanding meetings with official representatives and pass them petitions.

2. Sending faxes to the Khimki city court (+7-495-572-83-14), to the prosecutor's office in the Moscow region (+7-495-621-50-06) and the president of the Russian Federation (+7-495-606-

24-64) demanding the closing of the case and the withdrawal of all charges brought against Aleksei Gaskarov and Maxim Solopov.

3. Continue sending requests to international organisations: the European Counsel, the European Parliament, the United Nations and other structures, the address of which can be found: <http://khimkibattle.org/?p=650>.

4. Arrange publications in mass and local media, articles on the Khimki hostages in order to inform the public about the new threats on rights and freedom, invite people to participate in solidarity actions to support Aleksei and Maxim and demand the closing of the case fabricated against them.

We would like to ask you to please send us information about your solidarity actions, as well as copies of letters, faxes, and media publications to the email: info@khimkibattle.org

INTERVIEW WITH BELARUSIAN ANARCHISTS...

about ongoing debates on anarchist and antifascist tactics, and not only about it

It happened that at the end of the summer we heard gossip about some anarchist gatherings taking place in Belarus in order to discuss various strategies and critical issues within their movement. We thought that sort of overview about these debates could be interesting for some other movements, especially in that region of the world, but maybe others as well. In the meantime while we were already preparing the interview some new things happened in the region. Anarchists intensified their actions, especially in solidarity with comrades imprisoned by the Russian state. The Belarusian state responded with repression, and anarchists responded with more actions and more solidarity activities. Of course we followed the situation. But at the same time we decided not to lose the perspective of the long term debates which emerged in the region before. Therefore in this interview you will find both: the focus on the general debates as well as the spirit of ongoing confrontations. We managed to gather opinions of three Belarusian activists whose stories are melted in to one plot including different positions, estimations, and analyses. We hope you will find it interesting to get through, at least as much as it was for some of us completing these opinions.

AbolishingBB

AbolishingBB: Could you please, at the very beginning, describe briefly the condition, characteristic structure and main activities of the anarchist movement in your region in last years?

Anarchist opinions aren't very spread in Belarusian society, in our movement we have about 200 people across the country with different degrees of involvement. They are mostly young people of student age. But it is a rather common situation for our "indifferent stability", that various organizations independent from the state have even less activists. Anarchist movements in Belarus consist of a range of initiatives, that work in different fields and keep contact between each other, e.g. FoodNotBombs groups, helping the homeless or anti-nuclear movement, that is keeping in touch with a number of groups and NGOs. Then there's a reaction of the anarchists on different events in society, when something happens and anarchists decide to speak up. To these interventions belong e.g. participating in the Social March and the intention to confront the idea of the introduction of Orthodox Christianity into the secondary schools' curriculum(...) Today the main center of activity is Minsk. In several towns there are small groups of 3-5 activists, more in Brest and Hrodna.(...) Activists in Minsk had for example a free educational cooperative "Bespartzhkola" ("school-without-desks"), but now it's suspended because the last one was stopped by cops and everybody was "detained to check their identities". In the town of Salihorsk there was a weekly "Free Market", a kind of free-shop. Mostly actions are still aimed to spread anarchist ideas, so there are leaflets, banners and short ILLEGAL demos (MayDay, anti-nuclear demos, demos against military maneuvers, common demos with antifascist groups) and until 2010 we participated in the legal anti-nuclear demo "Chernobyl Path" on the 26th of April. During the last year it came as well to some more discreet actions of more militant character, various objects were attacked with molotov cocktails or football fires (casino, bank, trade-union office, Russian embassy). Some anarchists are organized (in "Revolutionary Action" – previously the Belarusian branch of "Autonomous Action" network), but most are not. The Belarusian Anarchist Federation (FAB) which was the center of activities ten years ago currently is a network of groups and individuals without strict membership. And also there are elder anarchists who don't participate in movements but are still active in relative projects like Indymedia, or The Free Theater in Brest. So, as you can see, there are different things happening and different concepts being tested but there's no common strategy or general aims of the anarchist movement.



AbolishingBB: This summer some specific anarchist gatherings took place in Belarus in which many different groups and individuals from the whole country participated. What issues are currently discussed within the Belarusian movement?

There were basically two relevant meetings in the last months. There was one, more open in character and one, more closed. The first one was mostly by people from active initiatives. One of the main discussion lines there was brought by the people who were active in the last years and could see that it is not just a let's-make-a-rally-reaction on something, but rather that it's long and committed work, that is required to reach any results. That can be seen on the example of FNB that changed their level in the recent years - they managed to get to the city center with their action, there are more people and media interested in their activities. They had a crisis that they had to solve, that people are coming and leaving, always people change. I think when a new person joins the initiatives, s/he starts doing things and then at some point analyzes what is this initiative, what is it trying to achieve and none of the older activists can give the answer, that we are aiming at this and that, that in one year we're gonna do this, in two that, and in three years reaching this point and that's our aim. The person thinks that s/he is just coming and mechanically peeling the potatoes or cooking the buckwheat and this monotony kills the person's motivation. The perspective is not seen. And that part of the people that are the catalyst of the initiative, they also get tired from that and can't really pass the "estafeta" to the new people. Another example is of 'Anti-Nuclear Resistance' that was started in 2008 when the work was continuous and contacts were established with such organizations as Ecodom, Ecodefense; with loyal journalists, that say they are against nuclear stations, with the scientists, who helped to put together a pamphlet, with the active locals at the site of the

planned power station. I see this project as a successful one, the one that has a future. Until you reach the goal, stop the construction of the nuclear power plant, and even beyond that. We were thinking that while you realize this project, you get new information, analyze it and you become an expert in this field. There was an idea of forming a group that would deal with energy issues and with the Chernobyl issue. Because now they want to cultivate part of the Chernobyl zone, bring back the agriculture there. So if we keep on working there is a perspective of forming a big eco-anarchist group and there are enough issues for it to deal with. In general, it's very good that new people who come into the movement raise the questions about our aims, our strategies, our tactics. It's really good that people are thinking about that. So at the moment there are the goals in the movement to formulate common tactics and strategies for the future. And for that reason recent meetings were organized by people active in different initiatives. It was a closed meeting. The invitations were distributed through the trusted sources, people who had been active in the 90's and early 2000's were also invited. The aims of the gathering were to improve communication between groups from various towns, analyze the results of activity (of the whole movement and of particular initiatives), determination of strategies and tactics of movement (discussion on long- and short term aims and how to reach them), discussion on using various methods of struggles (public and radical actions, repressions caused by them) and discussion on the future of Anarchist Federation. In total there were people from eleven towns (...) But it can be said that the meeting failed. The common grounds were not reached, because the topics brought up were the ones that are probably discussed since anarchism emerged. Because people have different views on how to reach the aims. Some people say one should throw molotovs, some say that we need more open events, film projections, own publishing, a cafe where people could meet and discuss, an eco-village, etc. Others confronted them saying it's all bullshit - this way you will become part of the capitalist system and you're gonna perform within its frames. These others meant we should rather talk about raising the people, talk and head towards social revolution, and they meant more direct actions as well (...) About the ongoing debates in the movement... as everywhere you have some people who call themselves "social anarchists" arguing against "lifestyle anarchists". Some anarchists participate in activities like LGBT or women's movements while others argue that these movements can be easily incorporated by the state, or that they are anarchistic by their nature, so anarchists shouldn't participate in them. So as one can see, all old controversy among "revolutionary" and "evolutionary" anarchists are present here (...) But we can say, that one of the main debates was about the methods of reaching the society self-governed by the people. I think that at the moment insurrectionists 'frame' the anarchists who work publicly. I mean there are not so many active anarchists in Belarus. And they know each other. Always conducting joint activities. But there is a problem: some work openly - make open discussions, street-parties, FNB, Critical Mass, propaganda at the concerts - trying to involve new people in the movement. And at the same time there are as well groups who smash cash-machines, break windows in administration buildings, etc and then PR it on their web-sites and blogs. And when the authorities want to find the guilty ones, they come to public events, arrest and take fingerprints of their participants, as it happened at Bespartshkola (public discussion evenings) and as it happened now. And this problem was analogical in case of Khinki in Russia, when after the action at the city administration building, public figures of the Moscow Anti-Fascist movement



were arrested, while they were not organizing that action. So these questions were the hot topic at the gathering this summer. How to act so not to expose one another. There is little experience with that in Belarus and quite few people as well. So yeah, different people understand differently what should be done to reach our goals - classless society, anarcho-communism... we all want the same, but people even imagine differently how it might

look like, if it ever happens... As you can see, the questions raised were too global. The first meeting was better because there were representatives of the actual initiatives and those who wanted to join them. They were analyzing what had been done, what was the situation and what was needed to be done. It was better because the concrete initiatives were solving their concrete problems. ... And about the new, possibly insurrectionist tactics... Are they applicable in our reality? You see, what hap-

pened in these last weeks was that some people throw the molotovs, then 'Friends of Freedom' claim responsibility and then many anarchists, basically those who were traced by their IPs, blogs, web-sites, or those whose faces were seen at some public actions and those who were arrested before. So they were already in the KGB lists, all those people were arrested or at least interrogated. And the question is if the movement is ready for this level of repression, because in the recent years there were nearly no repressions from the state, not in this sense at least. The right-liberal opposition has got enormous experience in how to deal with repressions. Anarchists have had no established contacts with lawyers or human-rights organizations. On the other hand we should follow as well our own ideas and ways of strengthening anti-repression resistance, which would be finding our own lawyers, creating our own anti-repression structures, raising the level of knowledge in this field... And some things are of course happening in this direction. Sometimes there are anti-repression seminars. Several pamphlets were already published, e.g. 'how to behave yourself with the cops', 'to assist activists' etc. There is ABC in Belarus, that gathers money to help activists. But there are no professional lawyers and attorneys among us that would deal with these issues. Also I think that seminars that are held year in year out bring no results, as we can see it right now. Everybody seemed to have heard, but not read even once, about how to behave yourself, and as a result people behave themselves differently during the interrogations and so on... Now coming back to the reasons of actual repression on anarchists, another one is that in the recent years among all the politically engaged youth groups and movements, anarchists have shown their presence most brightly and actively - a fight with neo-Nazis at the Social March, action against the joint Russian-Belarusian military maneuvers, attack on the posh "Shangri La" casino, Chernobyl commemoration March... The state has certainly noticed the intensification of interventions and certainly said: Anarchists, anarchists, anarchists... - it's time to crush them!

AbolishingBB: The last big issue we would like to ask for your opinions on is the nationalistic and fascistic tendencies in Belarus, and of course about the conditions of Anti-Fascist resistance. One aspect we would like to provoke especially are the similarities and differences in radical right wing problems between your region and in Russia...

Well, there are actually no extreme right-wing organizations in Belarus. There is 'Pravy Aljans' (Right Alliance) - they are taking on the western European 'new right' trend. There was Partija

Svabody (Party of Liberty), there are nationalists BHK BNF - Belarusian Christian Conservatives Belarusian Popular Front (the Front was first national-democratic movement in Belarus already during Perestrojka, lately they've split into a liberal democratic and Christian conservative parties). But the struggle in the political field is actually not happening. And there are no public Anti-Fascist events such as screenings, seminars and discussions on xenophobia, intolerance etc. But at the same time there are no serious actions or events from the extreme right, that Anti-fascists have counteract to... So at the moment it's all circling around football. A person might claim to be a Nazi, a racist, an ultra-right etc, he goes to the terraces, supports for example Dinamo Minsk (Dinamo FCs all over the Soviet Union were Under the Ministry of Internal Affairs control, thus being a cops' club) or some other club. And we should thank MTZ-RIPO (now called Partisan) FC fans, who are strictly Anti-Fascist and they are a real power now, outnumbering the Nazi football supporters and changing the situation in Minsk in several years so that now you can walk the streets without the fear of being beaten up by a gang of Nazis. It is also really rare that you see Celtic crosses, swastikas etc being worn on the clothes openly in the city. The skinhead style has died out in this city. All these people are wearing 'casual' now. There haven't been attacks on punk concerts for a long time, because the boneheads know they can get smashed. (It is worth mentioning that a several times kick-boxing world champion is among the Anti-Fascists) Well, generally, in the beginning there were quite some drunkards among Anti-Fascists, but then there was a change and people started to lead a healthy life-style and went to train kick-boxing. (The Anti-Fascists joined the kick-box training clubs and the kick-boxers joined the Anti-Fascists, a fruitful merger.) Unlike in Russia, there is no tendency to shoot in Belarus. Even between MTZ-RIPO and DINAMO, there are no weapons ever used, just "fair-play", and MTZ are kicking everybody's asses, you can see it in the videos - for example, they are outnumbered 3 times, but keep their ground... So it is all in the street level now, but it still can come back to the political spheres. Well, in politics, there is this Right Alliance. There were some pickets against alcoholization of the nation made by them. Some of these pickets were attacked by the Anti-Fascists, but it was quite a long time ago. And there is NBP [National-Bolshevik Party, Russian party, they got some sympathizers in Belarus, for a long time they were pro-Lukashenko, but recently changed their mind]. They tried to make a picket against censorship of internet (since recently you can get internet in public internet-cafes only after showing your ID). but all got arrested before they could gather. NBP is also monitored by the Anti-Fascists, some meetings of theirs were attacked. So, from one side the Anti-fascist hooligans are active, from the other side, there are no real political forces on the right spectrum that would have racists or extreme right propaganda. There is only this Right Alliance, that authorities want to close now [a member of it was arrested after the attack on the Russian embassy], they put stakes on the football hooligans, they want to recruit them. They are the so-called 'new right' as in western Europe, hidden behind the nice words like healthy lifestyle, nationalism, immigrants are to blame, we are Europeans, etc. but it is not so usual in Belarus, they don't have much support even among the football hooligans. There was Belaya Volya [White Will], but it is clear now that it was a KGB provocation, that attacked the anarchists at the Social March. There was an attack on a punk show in 2003 or 2004 in 'Leo' club, when several people got stabbed and then some of



attackers got caught and received real jail terms. But then they were released much earlier - in 1-1,5 years. And that is when Belaya Volya was started. And those who knew the attackers, knew they were in Belaya Volya. So we guess, there was a proposal to them - if you don't want to sit 8 years, and rather be out in a year or two, than do this and that... So the most famous action of BV was an attack on the anarchists during the oppositional Social March. No police interfered into the fight until it was over (very un-typical for this country). The incident was widely used by the state propaganda machine to depict those who protest, as violent hooligans who fight each other. After that event Belaya Volya ceased to exist... Well, of course there is as well racism on the kitchen level, people in their private talks say that those Jews are sneaky, or the hatchi (offensive word, mostly used for referring to Caucasus peoples) took over the market, but these kinds of talks only happen privately. It's only talks, no action. There are a lot of foreign students here, and mostly they do not have any problems. There was this story in Homel, when a student was stabbed... and another story when boneheads went to the student dormitories to rob lonely foreign students, but the students came together to counteract the idiots and one of the neo-Nazis died of wounds he got in that fight. But it was already quite some years ago. So, while immigrants were being stabbed by Nazis in Russia, a Nazi was killed by foreign students

in Belarus. Belarusian nationalists never went too extreme, because they were getting grants from Western European funds and you can not propagate those kinds of things if want you to receive money from the west. And also Belarusian nationalism didn't become popular here in Belarus. In Russia there is all this propaganda of Russian patriotism, we are all Russians, bla-bla, 'Russians against fascism' (a controversial slogan from Moscow Anti-Fascists for counteractions on the "Russian Nation Day's" Nazi march). In Russia

there are people that want to take the word 'Russian' away from the Fascists. They want to show that 'I am Russian and I am against fascism' is a normal thing. During the action against the Khimki city administration you could witness these tendencies. It's hard for me to understand the slogan which was used there, saying "For the Russian forest!" Why not "For the Khimki Forest?!" Then, what if me, a person from Belarus, comes to that forest to relax? Can I do that? Now, it seems to me, what is happening in Moscow is complete bullshit (polnaja hujnia!) 'Russians against fascism' beat people who tear down Russian flags at punk/hc concerts. Or say they're gonna kick the ass of anybody who raises a hand against the Coat of Arms of Moscow. And when people start a discussion with them, saying "this Coat of Arms was made and approved by the ex-mayor of Moscow Luzhkov, (who was mayor for many years, until his dismissal last month), are you in support of Luzhkov?" It makes them even angrier and there are no clear answers on that. So it happens, that Anti-Fascists are not fighting against Nazism, but against people who dislike the state symbols. The other thing is that there were always two kinds of nationalists here -Belarusian and Russian. In the 90's there were pro-Russian nationalist militants, like RNE (Russian National Unity) as well as Belarusian radical nationalists, like Kraj. And there was tension between them. But they were all marginal, nobody really supported them, there were no mass movements, like Russians out, for a independent Belarus etc. At the same time pro-Russian radicals didn't get much support either, but I can still remember them walking in their military outfit, patrolling... In the city of Hrodna (next to the Polish border) they got kicked hard, though. Even the dumbest

redneck would take it as an honor to kick this kind of military dressed, with runes on the patches skinhead, you know "this kind of stuff doesn't pass here, lets kick their asses!". That Kraj, the so-called sport-patriotic club, they had between 10 and max.50 members, and they would go to the forest to train... And as far as I know, most of their active members are now in political asylum in Belgium... At the end of the day I don't think that a person who is interested in racism, fascism etc. nowadays in Belarus would think of forming a group and going to kill Chinese students, whom there are many of here studying. They would rather write some articles or something. I haven't heard about any hate-crimes in the recent years in Belarus. And it's hard to say thanks to what it is so... Maybe it is just thanks to the general apathy and low social activity level of Belarusian society... Maybe because there are no serious far right wing organizations here (there were quite a few in the 90's, but they didn't survive). Maybe, most of the people who were trying to popularize those ideas were marginal boneheads? And finally... maybe it is thanks to the Anti-Fascist movement (...) The Anti-Fascist movement in Belarus was inspired by anarchists, but today these movements are rather independent. There is a lot of apolitical people among Anti-Fascists, but some Anti-Fascists participate in anarchist actions and some anarchists still participate in AFA. For some young anarchists the Anti-Fascist movement was the first step towards anarchism (...) When the Anti-Fascist movement had started to form in 2000, it already had quite some support. By that time there would be hundreds of youngsters attending punk shows, so the Anti-Fascists wouldn't be totally outnumbered. Meanwhile there is even some kind of fashion to Anti-Fascism. It is trendy to be an Anti-Fascist and not cool to be a Nazi with a bomber and a swastika. Anti-Fascists conquered the



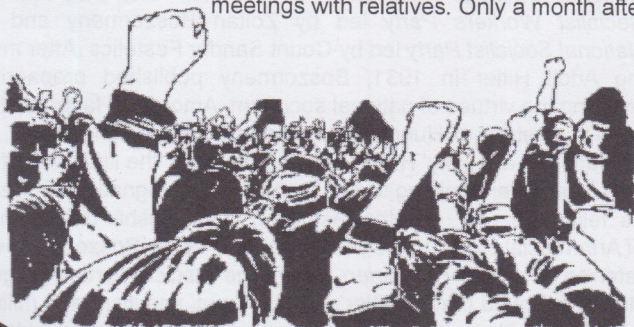
terrace-victories. Now, unlike some years ago, if you want to go to the stadium, you have a choice - whether to join an antifascist club or a pro-Nazi one. MTZ-RPO had up to 800 youngsters on their terraces. On the street level the question is solved. On the political level, due to several circumstances, people don't support these ideas. They are strongly supported in Russia... maybe it is the imperialistic moods, you know, mother Russia... The difference is that Belarus is basically a mono national state, more than 80% of the population are Belarusian's, the national minorities are Russians, Poles, Ukrainians and Tartars that have lived here for centuries. Due to the economic situation as well, there is no big immigration to Belarus, It is rather a transit country on the way to the west. If somebody would decide to

organize against immigrants, lets say Georgians or Armenians, he would have a hard time finding them. Belarusian's are also not really nationalists by default. They would say 'ours won' on some sports victory of a Russian team. The voices saying 'give us back our Vlinius, our Smolensk' are not heard in the society, they come from very marginal groups and have no chance. Belarusian's are very tolerant, that's true. (...) To answer the question about the reasons for differences between what is happening here and what is happening in Russia is very complex but I think that one thing can be said: the main reason why Nazis in Russia are much more offensive than in Belarus is the state policy. Russian authorities actively used nationalistic propaganda in their internal policy. It's not the only reason, as we already explained, but it's very important. Still, this question requires special study.

AbolishingBB: Thank you a lot for your time and knowledge you have shared with us and readers of our magazine.

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH IMPRISONED COMRADES IN BELARUS

Since the beginning of September 2010 social activists in Belarus have faced unprecedented pressure. After the attempted arson at the Russian Embassy on the night of August 31, 2010 and the start of the presidential campaign, around a hundred of social activists from different cities (Grodno, Brest, Gomiel, Minsk and Soligorsk) have passed through 'talks', interrogations at the KGB, house-raids and arrests, some of them are still detained. Taking advantage of the possibility to arrest for three days without filling accusation, the authorities re-arrest activists every three days as suspects on other cases. All together 13 people have spent already 153 days under unlawful arrest. During the interrogations the activists are beaten, threatened to be expelled from their places of study, as well as subjected to psychological pressure and are not allowed meetings with relatives. Only a month after



the arrest, on October 1, the accusation against Mikalaj Dziadok was made up: the participation in the action near the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense (Article 339 Part 2 — hooliganism, up to 6 years of imprisonment). September 20 Aliaksandar Frantskievich was charged with the perpetration of the attack on the police station in Soligorsk. All those repressed are activists and participants of the social, ecological, anti-authoritarian, antifascist and humanitarian initiatives. We call to everybody who cares about the fate of the arrested anarchists, anti-authoritarians and social activists to organize on October 14-20 solidarity actions near Belarusian Embassies and representative offices around the world. Only by means of global solidarity can we get our comrades out of prison.

Please help us to spread this call-out as widely as possible. You can send information about solidarity actions to [minksolidarity\[at\]riseup.net](mailto:minksolidarity[at]riseup.net)
The chronicle of the events - <http://belarus.indymedia.org/blog/minksolidarity>

The letters of support you can send to the pre-trial detention center to the address:

Minsk, 220050, Volodarskogo str. 2, SIZO-1, cell 42, Mikalaj Dziadok

Minsk, 220050, Volodarskogo str. 2, SIZO-1, cell 46, Aliaksandar Frantskievich

CHRONOLOGY OF A REPEATED DISASTER

Fascism in Hungary

The opposition to neoliberal globalisation takes in the main nationalistic forms. It is necessary for a government within a more or less democratic country to explain to the nation how and why they dare to deny fundamental resources to the needy. The Hungarian government's explanation criminalises and racialises the conflict - to say that all the people who need social assistance are racially different from us, (racially inferior in the case of the Roma). They say they are never do wells and lazy, benefit dependent spongers or 'white trash'. Then they build more prisons, get more police and keep the proletariat, the precariat and the underclass in their place as inferiors. It is quite extraordinary how much of the general response to the crisis, to the galloping anomie and to spreading poverty is anti-plebeian. The open hatred against the old age pensioners, the unemployed and social welfare claimants is counterbalanced by hatred of the ruling order of capital as 'foreign'. Western liberal criticism of East European racism, xenophobia and neo-fascism is perceived as a feint to subdue 'national' resistance to rootless cosmopolitan finance capital and life destroying 'political correctness'. The strengthening of the Right is not just a reimagining of quasi-fascist but also a response to social collapse and disintegration. The right is promising order, social cohesion and survival for the middle class, especially for young white, gentile, Christian families.

Why did something we thought was already dead and buried return again to frame the political scene?

This article proposes to make a general analyses about a very worrying situation appearing in Hungary over the last years. Many media channel's all over the Europe signal, that, since 2007 there was a fundamental turn into the policy of the Hungarian state. One could not say anymore that this is left propaganda or even left paranoia. There is no doubt now that in Hungary the right wing plays a strong role into the political scene. We witness the presence of the fascists in the Parliament. We also witness during the last years attacks against minorities and a very strong antisemitic and antiziganistic discourse. In the last years there have been more than 18 attacks against Roma homes where 6 people were killed. The conjectures fall on *Maghiar Guard*, a nationalist paramilitary movement but none has been watching until now. With all the media scandal and international reaction the right wing is getting powerful. It seems that it has the retaining wall of the mass of the population. The old resentments are back and the big frustration caused by the Treaty of Trianon is becoming, once again, a subject of discussion.

As far as we know there is not a strong reaction against the rise of the fascists by Hungarians. It is definitely not at all our intention to give a categorical answer faced with this situation, neither to try to explain it or give a satisfactory overview about it. We can just limit ourselves to the research we have done and to try, together with you, to understand why something we thought was already dead and buried returned to frame the political scene...

At first we think that the rise of the Hungarian fascists nowadays presents some similarities with what 60 years ago happened when Hungary became a fascist state allayed with, Germany, under

Adolf Hitler, and, Italy, of Mussolini. Fortunately, in the present situation there is no such possibilities but we see it anyway as a very alarming sign for the near future.

We think as well that behind the fascists there are political forces interested in sustaining them in order to keep the attention of the public opinion away from the real problems. It is a very comfortable solution to hear that those responsible for the economical disaster caused by the so called transition are the Roma criminals, some very mystical Jewish organisations and of course the emancipatory tendencies coming from the West. But out of the arguments they use, unfortunately it seems that the speech of the fascists has a very strong hold to the public. Have the Hungarian common people gone into a very deep sleep? There is no self-reflection. What can generate such a powerful ignorance and mass hatred? Can somebody explain why, after the grey history of the fascists in the World War 2, when more than 10 percent of the Hungarian population was murdered, people are still able to trust the fascists?



Great Hungarian dream state.

Hungary, in 1919 went through the traumatic experience of civil war and short-lived Communism regime of Bela Kuhn, followed by one of white terror. The Treaty of Trianon reduced the old kingdom of Hungary to near a quarter of its territory and dramatically put borders between its population forcing about 30 percent of the Hungarian population into neighbouring countries. The roots of Hungarian fascism were firmly anchored to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with its disillusioned military officer corps, and the counter revolution. This military class - consisting both of career officers and aristocratic families - was entrusted with restoring Hungary's greatness and racial purity. Starting in 1919 they organised several racist and antisemitic associations, among which the most important were *MOVE* (the Hungarian association of national defence), *Awakening Hungarians*, *the Irredentist Association*, *the Association for Territorial Defense*, *the Hungarian Society for the Defense of Racial Purity*, and *the Christian National Associations secret group 'Resurrection'*. The political socialisation of Hungarian youth took an extreme form in *Levente* (youth association), a paramilitary group legalized to train Hungarian youth in military affairs.

The first *National Socialist Party*, *Nemzeti Szocialista Part* was founded 1928 and in 1933 fused with the *National Socialist Agrarian and Workers Party*. By the early 1930s there were in fact four fascists parties extolling the national socialist ideology: *The National Socialist Agrarian and Workers Party*, *the National Socialist Workers Party* led by Zoltan Boszormeny and the *National Socialist Party* led by Count Sandor Festetics. After meeting Adolf Hitler in 1931, Boszormeny published propaganda extolling the virtues of national socialism. Among his favored ideas were the return of Hungary borders to their pre-1918 forms, the formation of a 'healy' Hungarian middle class, the limitation of the size of large landholding to 500 hectares, the designation of citizens as 'fellow citizens', and the restriction of citizenship only to those of Arian racial stock. In the propaganda of 1930s Boszormeny was referred to as the *Hungarian Hitler*. The fascists parties program closely followed that of Hitler's - racism anti semitism and militarisation but with an added flavor combining a Hungarian extreme

form of nationalism infused with Christian fundamentalism. None from these parties were able to get enough votes during the 1935 national elections to enter parliament. They were however successful in preparing the entrance of Ferenc Szalasi, the only fascist leader with a vision for world domination under the leadership of the Hungarian people... He had already in 1933 published his 'Plan for the construction of the Hungarian State' an ideological program followed two years later by 'Goal and Demands'. Szalasi planned a complete makeover of the Hungarian state in three years that would be followed by a systemically planned economy. In Goal and Demands, he proposed the expulsion of all Jews from Hungary and the creation of the *Hungarian United Lands*, a loose confederation of all pre-1918 territories. In 1935 Szalasi formed his own *Party of National Will* together with Sandor Csia, a fellow fascist. Szalasi launched his Hungarist movement in 1936 based on nationalism, mystic Arian, Turanian racism combined with anti-semitism, Christian fundamentalism, and the leadership principle. It is clear that his real preoccupation was with the place of Hungary in the world... but that did not mean Hungary as she was, but the great Hungarian dream state with the magyars as the dominant race leading the others.

From lost elections to organising for total war and collaboration on Holocaust

Szalasi and his fellow extreme nationalist Gombos (who became prim-minister in 1932) were not great friends. Szalasi did not trust Gombos fully and decided not to run for a seat with his help during the 1935 elections. One year later at the local elections, Szalasi and other fascists leaders were all defeated at the polls. The new government was able to mount a successful, but not very efficient attack on the extreme right whose main movements were all disbanded. None of the leaders, however, received jail sentences. But by the fall of 1937 a new and more extreme leadership appeared with Laslo Endre and Kalaman Hubany. With them Szalasi formed another party: the *National Socialist Party*. Their slogan was: God, Homeland, Nation and Hungarianness. Endre successfully mounted a political campaign and in 1938 was elected to the post of county deputy governor of Pest country. At this time Hungary's German minorities joined Szalasi movement: their leader Ferenc Rothen became Szalasi foreign policy advisor. When the Hungarian *National Socialist Party* was illegalised, a new faction formed; by August it reappeared as the *Arrow Cross Hungarist Movement*, a party supported by the smaller but equally extreme National Front.

Szalasi claimed that his Hungarist idea was not anti-Semitic but a-Semitic: simply disregarding the Jewish people. He held the view that Hungary and Hungarians were especially well situated to be a leading race in the world. In order to achieve this, all colonial and imperialistic great powers - the « Judeo-plutocracies » of England, France and U.S.A and the Soviet Union - had to be dissolved. Instead, the Latin, German, Slavic, Islamic and Hungarist political nations should be allowed to form their own 'Lebensraum'. By the late 1930s the fascists were openly organising rallies and publishing pamphlets and newspapers, in early 1939 they planned a bombing of the Jewish synagogue on Dohay Street in Budapest. The militarization of Hungary went hand in hand with the anti-Jewish law of 1938. On the 2 of April the Daranyi government announced its Gyor program -a five year to rebuild Hungary's military hardware and communications - and the same day the first Jewish Law went into effect. The end of 1938 saw the first open Hungarist rally, with ten of thousands marching on the streets of Budapest. Under this kind of pressure the Teleki government legalised the Arrow Cross party. During the May 1939 parliamentary elections, *The Arrow Cross* and another national socialist par-

ties were able to send forty eight MPs to the parliament. This figure meant that altogether 900,000 people across the country voted for the fascists. In Budapest and Pest Country alone, more than 40 percent of voters opted for *Arrow Cross* and other fascists candidates. At the end of 1940 the leaders of various fascists factions agreed to unite and form a single *Arrow Cross Party* to represent the Hungarian National Socialism. But the Imredy government's shift toward Germany created a powerful position against the *Arrow Cross* by marginalising the leaders. Many were jailed while others were forced to flee to Germany .

However, Szalasi and his closest allies did not remain quiet: in 1943 they planned a military coup. By the fall of the year, the German military high command was convinced that the conservative government of Miklos Kallay, installed in power by regent Horthy and not sympathetic to Nazism, was incompetent and that military occupation of the country was inevitable. During the summer of 1941 almost 16,000 Jews were deported to Galicia and massacred in Kammeneck -Podolsky. This was the first massacre of the Holocaust to be legitimated by the Hungarian leadership. It was followed by the second massacre, which took place in January 1942 in Delvidek .a region occupied by the Hungarian military and police. They murdered nearly 3,500 people mostly Jewish and Roma.

On 19 March 1944, Hungary was occupied by the Germans. All the national socialist leaders who had immigrated to Germany now returned and actively organised for total war in Hungary, even though the German puppet government of Sztojany did not include any *Arrow Cross* members. In April, Edmund Veessenmayer, Hungary's Nazi governor meet Szalasi for the first time. Veessenmayer was able to convince admiral Horthy to meet Szalasi in May, a meeting that sealed Hungary's fate during the tragic remaining months of the year. All the fascist and paramilitary



groups were united under *MOVE*, including the semi secret *Association of Fighters of the Eastern Front (KABAZ)* and the *Turanian Fighters Association*. When on 15 October 1944, Horthy announced a cease-fire, the *Arrow Cross* units armed by the germans mounted a successful military coup d'etat. In the late Oktober 1944 Szalasi issued his Program for *National Reconstruction*. In the spring and early summer, Eichmann and his Sonderkommando deported Hungarian Jews and Roma from the provinces to Auschwitz. The deportation of almost half-million people was actively helped by Hungarian Clerks, policemen, and soldiers.

Nazi skinheads as the new avantguard of the „ victims of the history“

After World War 2 and the establishment of state socialism, fascists ideas persisted among Hungarian military and police officers in expatriate communities all over the world. Many publications and journals were published extolling the virtues of Hungarian racial purity and excusing Hungary's role in the Holocaust. Neo - Nazis and neofascists ideas began to appear in Hungary after the fall of the communism in 1989. Skinhead groups and neonazi slogans had in fact already appeared in the small and marginal rock music subculture under the communist regime in early 1980s already. After 1990 new leaders and names appeared, and World War 2 insignias and songs began to make the rounds again. Antisemitic, antiziganistic and extreme nationalistic rhetoric also reappeared, with swastikas and acts of vandalism in Jewish cemeteries and synagogues across the country. Albert Szabo, Isvan Gyorkos and Georgy Ekrem Kemal formed the far right *Hungarian Welfare Association*, but the party was illegalised, forcing its ideologues to remain silent or to leave Hungary. Characteristic of the

1990s was a demonstration by nationalist skinhead group youth in the Castle district of Budapest to commemorate Szalasi's attempt to break out from the soviet attack on Budapest. The alternative subculture milieu start to rise again after 2000, with skinhead nationalist groups organising white power demonstrations and white Christmas concerts.

The Treaty of Trianon which left 1920's Hungary without a big part of territory and population is again on the top of discussion for right and extreme right parties after 2000. Did it really represent a tragedy for the Hungarians? We cannot say more about that. But we can realise into the extreme right speech from the last years that this subject is used as fetish. It is not really an issue if the Treaty was an unfair agreement but more it represents an instance for why 'the Hungarian people' are the victims of history. As a consequence, there is a policy of hate which establishes tensions between Hungarians and the neighbour people mostly between Hungarians and Slavs and Romanians and inside Hungary a tension between hungarians and minorities. But more than that is an instance that makes the Hungarians to feel entitled to ask for assertions.

Is History repeating itself?

On this point the role of the right extreme, with their program of reestablishing the old borders gives Hungarian population the feeling that they can again become one of the dominating nations of Europe. It is a very perverted argument which can make sense to any person who is not prepared for multiculturalism or to receive the changes of the last 20 years from the position of the economical and moral failure. On the other hand it is right that the transition to the market economy has failed and after 20 years Hungary is embroiled in poverty and a search for identity, assaulted by the multinational concerns and rotten by the corruption.

While industry and agriculture were collapsing, the dominant political forces said they were about to transform Hungary into a financial services centre for the world. After the total collapse of the early 1990 some foreign investment arrived and cheap labour being copiously available. There was some construction here and there. But the buy-outs were mostly for liquidating competitors and clearing consumer markets for the multinationals. However, as workers lost their jobs, these consumer markets naturally went up into thin air. By now the multinationals are packing up and leaving. On the whole it was still the state that somehow tried to provide for the increasing number of people left without any resources. Hungary has many more pensioners than gainfully employed people in the private sector. Living standards have plummeted, working hours have got longer for those still employed, and unemployment is everywhere. The dole is only valid for six months. Many people are going hungry and they are not used to it. In the 1970s and 1980s Hungary was prosperous compared to the rest of the region, especially in the 1970s when there were rising living standards. All this is collapsing.

The political class is a bunch of rascals interested in their own prosperity. Hungary is for sale. That's why a program like 'The Radical Change' of the *Jobbik* (the movement for a better Hungary, extreme right party represented from may 2010 with 17 percent in parliament) sounds to many like the only moral solution. The left spectrum is compromised after 2006. Ferenc Gyurcsany, the

prime minister from 2004 to 2006 admitted that his previous administration had lied about important economic information in order to assure the reelection. With the costs of transition spiralling and the fact that left politicians of important position were willing to misinform the public opinion on a massive scale (with serious consequences for the entire country), Conservatives and extreme right parties consolidated their position in Hungarian and European parliaments.

It seems that the situation created in the last years is similar to the situation of the 1920s when the Conservatives opened up the possibility for the right extreme to accede to the power. In fact *Fidez*, the nonconservative party, is working hand in hand with *Jobbik*. The speech of the right is also the same as it was in the 1920s. It presents the Hungarian people as victims of History. Alarmingly the discourse of the last years has become openly antisemitic and antiziganistic. The political program of *Jobbik* speaks directly about a « gypsy problem caused by gypsy criminality » and makes a proposal program for the integration of the Roma community. The 1920s fascist stereotypes are being used again by *Jobbik* - Roma don't work because they don't want to (and this is intolerable...), they are antisocial elements who must conform to the wish of the Hungarian state because nobody wants to pay and to sustain their laziness and criminality. Roma are presented as terror elements that endanger the silence and order of Hungarian society. *Jobbik*

also presents the Roma « criminality » as having a connection to political criminality and Jewish conspiratorial capitalists.

In August 2007 a paramilitary organisation *Magyar Gard* was founded. Gabor Vorna, recognisable as one of the heads of the rights extrem-

ists from *Jobbik*, was amongst the founders of this paramilitary organisation. Many commentators say that this group is responsible for the attacks against Roma families in Hungary and even in Transylvania. Unofficial voices say there is no doubt that they are protected by the police. Due to the political pressure *Magyar Guard* was dissolved in 2008. Shortly after it was reorganised under the cover of the *Maghiar Guard Foundation* officially engaged in cultural and national building activities. We can say this is just another strategy which keeps them present in the political scene. What can we expect from them? That beautiful Budapest became a city where the fascists are marching again, freely, sustained by the state and by 'the good citizens'.

In our research we were looking for resistance groups and people interested to fight against the right extreme in Hungary. Unfortunately the feed back was very small considering the seriousness of the situation. The antifascist group from Budapest seems to be very small and isolated. We have tried to get in contact with them but until now there was no answer from their side. We will continue our research and we are ready to help for building a solid counter movement because we consider the situation in Hungary critical. We have to act. We will continue to work on our materials and interviews as well as our call for solidarity. Fortunately there exists a lot of people outside Hungary which are ready to get active. One great example is from the queer scene in B. We are thankful that they accepted to give us an interview which we publish as a followup material. We think that their work is really great and should be followed by other groups and individuals who don't want to be passive in a time when Hungary is on the way to become again a fascist state.



INTERVIEW with the founders of solidarity group of Gay pride Budapest

-Can you tell us how you met and how you came to the idea to support the Budapest gay pride ?

I could tell you how the group was formed. Last year in 2009 4 people decided to go to the Budapest pride by car. When we arrived in Budapest, we were housed with Hungarian girl. She defined herself as lesbian. She said the pride was always a big party but was now afraid to go there. In 2008 the Gay Pride march was attacked by Nazis and some other right wing people. They threw stones and everything so she thought not to go anymore. This was the whole atmosphere we had to know there. We went out the first night and we realized that was no topic for the people to go to the march. They said us: -Oh, why are you here in Budapest?-, we want to support Budapest pride..and they said ...Oh no! please stay at home, we don't go there either so don't go there too.

The next day we went there and it was really, really strange. It was a calm pride, it was very guarded and guided by the police, there were fences around the people and it was such a strange atmosphere ...this was once a really big pride march and now there were just 800 people, it was really low. People who are homosexuals or identify themselves as queer didn't go there because they were too frightened. More it was a solidarity march. Parents and friends went there and people from other countries like us, and after that we saw many many neonazis on the sides and was very strange, there were graffiti's calling us -yeah, yeah fucking freaks or something like that, in Hungarian language, so we said- Ok, we will be back next year but with many many people and with a bus maybe, and this is why we decided, at first two people to create an info tour. When we talk to other people we get to know that they don't have an idea about the situation in Hungary. Some of them thought- Ok, there was something like a revolution in '89. Everything changed and they were very open, but those people had no idea that there was a right wing in power in Hungary right now. So this is why we organize an info tour in several cities and we did a call to come with us this year in 2010 and we had luck and 50 people came and we drove together to Budapest. And after some info evenings we meet E.

E- I saw the flyer already in the kitchen of a friend and I thought that's great because I am also coming from Hungary and I knew what's happening there and last year I was thinking it could be so nice to go there in a big group but I was a bit unmotivated to do something alone. I saw this flyer and I thought- Great! I will go there with them. Then I wrote an email and said I want to help the organization and this is how we met and started.

Do you plan to organize something for the next year as well ?

Yes, we had also a meeting after the trip, two weeks ago and it looks like we gonna go next year, with some more people and hopefully will be also easier because this time was a lot of work to do. So far everything was new with the bus and the other stuff and maybe next year we hope we will go with a bigger bus or with two buses. Who knows?

Can you tell us how was the group from Hungary? How did they participate in the organization? How many people are they and how are they politically motivated ?

They changed the name of the pride march, now is it called 'the freedom march' and they tried to mobilize all the antifascists groups from the Roma organizations to all the ngo-s ...but I think there was just a small group of antifascists. The antifascist group in Budapest, maybe in Hungary, is very small, the group of activists I mean. They were only ten people. Which was really a great effort because one pride before there was nobody of them and Amnesty International and other international groups made a call to all the people who try to fight against anti emancipation movements and they say now is not a topic only for homosexuals anymore, it's a topic for everyone who wants to fight for emancipated rights.

Why do they think the situation is so critical right now ?

The situation in Hungary ?????

- Yes! Why did they say every group is invited to support the pride ?

Should I tell a bit the story of the march, because it changed ...how she said, before was like a big party march. I remember I went there also and was almost like here, maybe not so political but people went on the streets and were not afraid ...now it changed since 2007 when the neonazis started to attack the march and

now is really like ridiculous because the situation changed so much that the demonstrators had to be guarded by fences and the police is also afraid and they want to protect the people because there are too many dangerous attacks ...I think it was worse in 2007 when the Nazis threw acid and stones and it was really escalating.

What was the reason of this change ?

-Why the politic changed ? good question! I think is really complex. Now the right wing has more power, I am not a

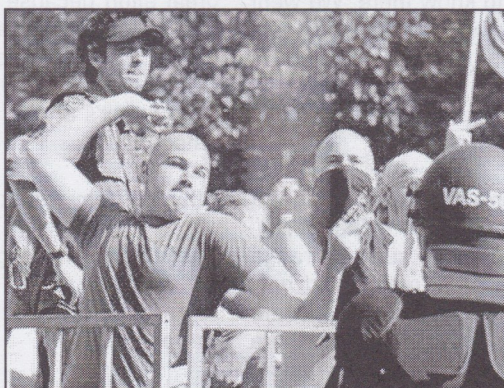
historian but I think in the whole in East Europe there are more right wing groups because, but this is just my theory, because of the capitalism and globalization and also I think because of the crisis maybe. I think too it is a complex topic, a mixture of causes, one is off course the economical situation, Hungary was really touched by the economic crisis, they have a high rate of unemployment, and there is such a big disappointment about the last government, they have very few inner state problems which problems has nothing to do with Europe, they don't believe in their own politicians anymore and on the other hand now the new politicians are from the right wing who promise many jobs in a short time. Also I think there is a historical reason too because there was no free state, in the socialist time they didn't get in touch with homosexuality in a very open minded way, it was forbidden and criminalized. But I think most important are the economical situation and the inner state problems and they were lied to by important politicians from the old government and this lie became public and after that there was a big scandal ...but I don't want to simplify that, it is a very complex topic and I exposed just few causes



...it culminated now...They have groups of enemies and this are Roma and the Jewish people and the homosexuals .because they are associate sometimes with the socialists and with the European decadence .

-What has the economical crisis got to do with the fact that Nazis are against homosexuals?

Now to come back to the internal state problems. After the chance in Hungary there were two fractions all the time .Left and right, there was no in between, no middle (center)and in the last 8 years, the left party lost its credibility because nothing changed and they were lying, the prim-minister lied ,it was a secret speech which somebody recorded and it was opened in the media and since then the right wing said : now we are going to do everything better .There was no option in between. They got really a lot of people, you know how it works, if you don't have money, if you are poor ,than if somebody says is gonna be better, you believe it .The right says- we are the nation, we have to come together, we have to do things together and is going to be better. Nationalism needs always an enemy, because you have to make yourself more important than everybody else . And then they started to do really thinks like to go back in the history and to say - we are Hungarians we did this and that and we are religious, and off course from religion than you have to piss yourself off if you are homosexual and its really complex thing to understand why they use this kind of arguments .



-Can I add something ,because your first question was why is it so important to go on the streets against anti-emancipatory movements —why is important for all to go on the streets? Is this situation really so critical? In the last time two important things were changed. At first the law ...Because homosexuals had some rights and now Fidez and Jobbik think to take the rights back .

-Why do you think Fidez and Jobbik wants to take the rights of gay people back ?

-Because they are conservative, nationalists and religious ...they are Christians fundamentalists ...they support patriarchy, for example in their view is forbidden that two male are kissing on the streets, they are very sexist as well and they talk about the new family laws. They say marriage is something holy. Jobbik don't want anymore that the marriage between gay people is allowed and Fidez says is not allowed or should not be allowed to marry in the same way and they should not have the same rights like the married people, to adopt children and so on .They say also there should be not that easy to divorce and the picture of the women is another one. A Hungarian woman has to be a woman like in former times.

First is the changing of the laws and second is the fear on the streets. There is the Magyar Guard, it is like a paramilitary group that it depends of the new politics and has its own politics and this is why the minorities have problems on the streets now. For the neonazi was always good to be in Hungary because they were not forbidden, they could show their symbols and they were allowed, in Germany is forbidden and thats why neonazis from Germany always have fun in Hungary . I think you can say that everybody is disappointed !

-but they are disappointed about the politics and not about the homosexuals —where is the connection ?

Well, I tell you only one connection to the homosexuals; they say Hungarian state has no money so why do the Hungarian state

support such a pride, why do we the Hungarians have to pay money for the police or to support such people on the streets...this is an economical thing, and they connected all to the socialists because the socialists always supported the pride march.

Right now is a huge hate in the society. They say all kind of homosexuals are perverts and Roma are criminals. They say the homosexuals don't support the nation because they don't reproduce ,they are hot healthy and not helpful for the reproduction of the state.

One important factor of this big hate is the nationalism .This is something you don't have to gain, you are born there and its stays on the paper and its something like the right you get with your birth. You don't have to fight for that and is something that nobody takes away. And is quite easy to build something up from this myth,like- we are against someone who is against us as a nation and who don't support us because is not able to reproduce the nation.

-Can you say something about the people and organizations which are against the neonazis ?

...in Hungary to make a statement against something is not like here in Germany, they don't have this culture, to bring the people together and to demonstrate .

-There was a strong political culture in Hungary, for example you know for sure about the 56 revolution.

-yeah but it was 50 years ago and then it was silence. There were more attacks against the Roma people but not so many reacts.

- I think the fear is a very important aspect. The day of the pride march is celebrated since some years like a big fighting day for the neonazis, they mobilize from everywhere and drive to Budapest on this day and they celebrate a heterosexual and Christian festival ...on this day somewhere else there was a Nazi festival too and thats why we understand why people are afraid to go there because you have to have a group to come from the metro to the demonstration. There were neonazis on the fences and they were waiting for the ones who came to the demonstration. I want to say also that they are using the events from 1956 because they won against the soviets. This is something that fits to their ideology as well and they use it for their own games and for their own propaganda. They are very reactionary. There was discussions to allow the march 30 minutes before it started .They changed the police chef one week before the pride, and there were discussions that the pride shouldn't take place. We were very happy that we can march and this is the fear thing because they make pressure. All in all it was not a success because the march was very small and we had to stop because it was interrupted by neonazis...we went to a part of the city were none lives and the demonstration didnt succeed in getting its message across.

-Do you have any message for the next gay pride ?

We wish that more people are coming and not just because it is a gay pride. I would go there as an antifascist and not just as a lesbian. I would really like to know that more people get this message and I wish that we can show together what is happening in Hungary should not happen and that there are people who are against them and don't want to be a part of a Fascist State .

We thank very much to all the people who helped us to realize this material, to our brave queer friends as well to Pusztarange and MHI

Craiova stays cynical

By Shevek

A Romanian joke:

"Q: What inspires you a gypsy with his hands amputated?

A: He is a trustful person..."

The situation of the Roma population in Romania has been the worst for many years, and this situation has continued due to some important factors. The first one is the State. Since the coming of the Roma people in our country, they have been the slaves of the state, of the monasteries and of the boyars until the second half of the 19th century. While they have been slaves, their existence could summarised by the well known expression, that of the "talking tools" (Slaves were called "talking tools" in ancient Rome). During the second world war their situation worsened because Marshal Ion Antonescu, head of the Romanian state between September 1940 and August 1944, decided that the Roma should be deported across the Dnistr river. During that period tens of thousands of Roma perished due to hunger, cold, exhaustion and so on. But with all this persecution that has been documented by historians, Romania didn't do anything to formally recognize its guilt.

Today, after more than 60 years from their own Holocaust-Porrajmos, Roma people have to face problems again due to their ethnicity. Romania nowadays is witnessing the increasing racism of "pure" romanians against Roma people, and what is really sad is that very few Romanians are doing something real against this racist attitude. Even in the anarcho-hardcore-punk scene, which is very small from every point of view, you'll be able to hear the most ignorant of arguments: "Hey, I'm not a racist, I'm not fascist, but I hate gypsies for what they do!". This is the most common saying among Romanians. They are not racists, but they hate gypsies. They are not homophobic, but still hate homosexuals. It has to be said that this everyday latent and unspoken racism has its roots deep in the media and the state policies, even before 1989. Every day you'll be saturated with tv, radio & newspaper news that present crimes, scandals, thefts and rapes made by Roma. And when they do it, all the media will underline is that it was a gypsy who did it, not mentioning that even though he's a Roma, he's also Romanian, but if it was another person, they would not mention their citizenship/ethnicity except if he was a foreigner. Due to this image created by the press, normal people are frightened by anyone who has anything to do with the Roma in any way, and the state encourages this attitude so it can take a more repressive attitude towards the Roma.

This racist attitude has developed along the years, after the revolution in 1989. Before 1989 Ceausescu and his oppressive regime tried either to isolate the Roma communities from the Romanians, or to integrate them as much as possible along with the erasure of their own cultural and ethnic identity. So here in Craiova for example, in "Fata Luncii", which is the biggest Roma neighbourhood in Dolj and perhaps Oltenia, the Roma were allowed to shop only in the neighborhood shops, made especially for them. Children were going to the schools from the same neighbourhood and so on, and because of this many Romas were very poor and their living conditions very harsh. Due to this fact many were obliged to live by stealing or by looking through the garbage cans, and this created a standard-image for the Romanian public of the Roma who is bad-smelling, unwashed, a thief and a criminal. This image was somehow repressed inside everyone until 1989, but after this year everybody bursted. This attitude has been obvious in the last years, when many Roma living in cardboard huts, ground huts or who squatted abandoned buildings were violently evicted without any warning and without any alternative solution given to them.

This was the case also for Craiova (a city with one of the largest Roma communities in Romania, estimated at about 30,000) in late August 2010, when around 200 families who lived in such awful conditions were bulldozed from a peripheral field because "their huts

were causing a major threat to the water pipe that runs underneath". Not until today did the mayor, the cityhall, or any other authority do anything to improve their situation, although many children, elderly and women are living, sleeping, washing and eating under the clear grey sky, and are condemned to do so. And with all this going on, having no jobs, no money and nothing to eat, the media, police and ordinary people are very indignant and hateful toward the Romani because they have to steal everyday in order to survive.

Although many Roma did not have any guilt for living like that, the reports from the media made everybody, or almost everybody feel that the authorities took the right decisions. And these feelings were expressed very violently on the internet comments, and here are some examples: "give them free land on the Moon or on the Mars" and, in reply, "congratulations for this idea, if they are leaving for the Moon, we'll raise money for their departure", or "leave alone these unwashed and smelly bastards, they infect us. Antonescu did a great good deporting them", "we don't want them in schools, on the streets, we don't want them anywhere!", and the examples could continue. What is really curious (or not) is that all these full of hatred messages are allowed by the administrators of the sites to be published, thus perpetuating this hate circle. It is well known among local Roma leaders that the authorities intend to create some sort of a "mixing pot" within the Roma community in this town, although they know very well that mixing Romani families with ones from different clans or origins is nothing but a ticking bomb. This situation is very dangerous and could escalate to violent happenings, and this is well known by the authorities, but also by the Roma leaders because none of them try to improve this situation. And while many are living in such harsh conditions, the Roma leaders and higher ranking Roma families are living in a very obsessive luxury for everyone.

And with all that, by the Roma hanging on to their ancient and exceeded traditions (mixing the Roma is something very bad and with violent consequences, many still refusing to go to schools for a minimum education and practicing a very early marriage – some marry their kids even before they are born, or preferring to hang out on the streets like beggars, and the examples could continue...) they give a helping hand to continue this violent policy of everybody against everybody. A recent official poll showed that 2/3 of Romanians are extremely hateful towards the gypsies, in a country considered one of the most tolerant in Eastern Europe. And with all this going on, the authorities, some NGOs and Roma leaders are blurbing about integrations, antidiscrimination measures, or about an inexistent discrimination in round tables, seminars, posters or tv clips which costs a lot of money, but are also done with EU funding, but are very rarely taking direct actions in the neighbourhoods, on the streets, in schools. So it's somehow like a circle, a never ending circle of violence that breeds violence. Romanians who hate gypsies for different reasons (because they don't work, don't pay taxes, don't wash, steal, etc.), Roma who discriminate Roma (because of their origin, wealth, status in community, and so on) and the State who hates all people.

So, in the end of this article, I'm not going to be optimistic about what's happening. It can be seen all around this self-breeding hate, and with this global crisis it intensified towards the wrong targets, because the state was pretty smart to manipulate everybody's attention towards the Roma.

P.S.: after the 200 families had their huts demolished, a few Roma NGOs organised a protest in the center of Craiova a few days later. They were expecting about 200 participants, but in the end there were only 2 participants. I think this says everything about how divided and without a social conscience are Romanians: pure Romanians or Roma, no matter of their ethnicity or colour of the skin.

Interview: 'No Border' Collective Warsaw

On May 23, around 10:00 am, during a routine control of shoe and clothing dealers- deemed "business criminals" by the authorities- at Warsaw's main market, non-uniformed police officers brutally arrested one of the sellers. Witnesses of the arrest, surprised by the unusual level of police violence, began calling on officers to regain calm. In reaction, one of the officers fired at 36 year-old Maxwell Itoya, a Pole of Nigerian origin, killing him on the spot. The police officer did not fire a warning shot in the air and the killing occurred in breach of legal procedure. All evidence reveals that Max did not provoke this radical act; he was not aggressive, rather, he called for peace and calm. The solidarity that Max showed towards his friends was answered by a lethal shot fired by a member of the police in his direction.

Out of rage, solidarity, and the need of a reaction, a group "Solidarni z Maxem" was formed directly after the tragic incident. After a while it was transformed into an anti-border collective "Radykalna Akcja Solidarna". Below we present an interview with them.

AbolishingBB

Abb : How many people are in your collective, and are some of you also immigrants?

L: We currently number 12 persons. Although formally there are no migrants in our collective at the moment, we have been working closely with numerous persons from different immigrant communities, some of whom are considering joining the collective.

M: In practice we function as a network of people bound by the callings of particular situations.

Abb : What are the goals of your collective?

L: Our struggle is for a world without hierarchies and borders, where people are free to move about, become full rights-bearing members of open communities, and live and work under just conditions. Our goal is the end of all borders: political, economic, class or societal. We aim to eliminate all state repression against migrants as well as structural and institutional racism. Furthermore, our goal is to strengthen migrant communities and their potential for self-organization, and to integrate Polish activist communities with migrant communities.

B: Our goals have grown out of our observations and resistance to the exploitation and oppression to which migrants in Poland are subject on a daily basis. The brutal police murder of Maxwell Itoya and the constant violations of labor rights reflect the absurd condition of our society, which renders large groups of humans disempowered, forcing them to live in conditions of uncertainty, without access to fundamental rights. According to market logic, freedom cannot be equally available to all. The very maintenance of capitalism demands cheap labor; a requirement, which can only be fulfilled through the limiting of rights to certain humans. In countries like those of the EU, this systemic need is usually satisfied by immigrants. In Poland, European cosmopolitans will enjoy the Euro Cup in 2012 at the National Stadium in Warsaw, currently being constructed by immigrants working for below minimal wage with no access to social protections. What results is a European system of apartheid, where citizens are defined in opposition to second-class humans. The emancipation of immigrants thus implies the complete upheaval of the mechanisms by which apartheid is reproduced.

M: Ending oppression against migrants is nothing less than a struggle for real democracy. Our aims derive from the conviction that ending oppression in Europe requires radical solidarity, and this entails realizing that our liberation is co-dependent. Migrants and non-alike, our freedom is bound together.



Abb : What is your political background?

L: Diverse; many of us are active in feminist, pro-worker, anarchist, environmental and pro-migrant initiatives or NGOs. We are united by a radical critique and approach to the issue of the existence of borders and their protection, the technologies of migration control, deportation and false discourses directed at the lives and dignity of humans seeking shelter in other countries.

Abb : Can you describe the events that took place at the Stadium market on May 23, 2010? Could you describe in more detail the resistance that arose in reaction to the

police murder of Maxwell Itoya? How did the riot come about? Who took active part, who acted in solidarity, what did this look like? How did the arrest of so many people come about?

L: In the morning hours of May 23, during a routine control of shoe and clothing vendors at Warsaw's central market, undercover police officers of the commercial division arrested one of the vendors using unwarranted violence. Witnesses to the arrest, surprised and appalled by such a display of aggression began calling on the officers to regain calm and maintain peace. In response, one of the officers fired at 36 year-old Max, killing him on the spot. All evidence revealed that Max did not provoke this radical act, but rather that the lethal shooting occurred entirely in breach of legal procedure and fundamental human rights.

M: The first persons to provide emergency aid were migrants themselves. The police officers limited their activities to « securing the scene ». When they blocked one of the entrances into the tunnel, riots broke out. Virtually all the witnesses to this absurd killing – vendors and buyers of all nationalities – started throwing whatever objects were available around. A few police car windows were broken but damages were generally minimal. In reaction, the police arrested 32 persons; all African, and one Indian whom they assumed dark enough to warrant arrest.

(Abb: One person was kept imprisoned for 51 days. At the end he was acquitted due to the lack of evidence. Nevertheless the investigation took almost two months to establish that fact.)

Abb : Were there attempts to control the spontaneous reaction?

M: It is difficult to say how the riot would have evolved had it not been for the intervention of a person who occupies a place of authority in the Nigerian community in Poland. Assumingly in order to prevent the further escalation of the riot, this person persuaded the Africans present to stop throwing objects and sit down on the ground. In consequence, they were all arrested. Those who refused to sit and ran away instead, managed to evade the

authorities.

L: Immigrants are controlled by the state and their rights are given or taken away due to the state's business. That's the logic of power: If some immigrant is needed to repair the current budget, he/she is tolerated. If the economy doesn't need any labour force ready to work for beggarly wages and without social insurance, they are not allowed to get in. From the very beginning the prosecutor ignored the witnesses of Maxwell's death who were confessing against the police agents. The police themselves were trying to show the murder as an accident having nothing to do with racism. A proof of their tolerance should be another Nigerian working for the police. Nevertheless on the 23rd of May 2009 the only people arrested were black. The police spokesman is trying to create an image of a "good" policeman doing their duties and a "bad" black immigrant who is a common criminal. If you can call somebody a criminal just because he/she is trying to survive in the repressive state where the citizenship is for elites and the left wing is nothing more than a democratic alliance of some party functionaries.

Abb : You mention the death of a Vietnamese person in May 2009 in Warsaw. Did any solidarity actions take place, and did you take part in them?

L: No solidarity actions came to our attention immediately following this indirect murder.

M: Nevertheless, during the legalized demonstration that took place on May 30th of this year in commemoration of Maxwell's death, members of the Vietnamese community spoke out about this tragic event, showing the solidarity in the face of repressions against migrants. The demonstration symbolically stopped in the neighborhood in which this Vietnamese person died.

Abb : Max and his friends, as well as the witnesses to his murder, reacted by opposing through direct action the apparatus of repression against immigrants in Poland. Do you think that this fact had any weight on the Warsaw anarchist community's interest in this case? If so, how and why?

L: Warsaw's anarchist communities took interest in Maxwell's case in reaction to yet another outrageous and unwarranted abuse on the part of the authorities and their apparatus of repression- the police.

M: We became aware of the migrants' manner of direct resistance only secondarily. Our primary motivation was the rage we felt at the news that a human being was shot down by the police in our city.

Abb : Your earlier responses point to an „us-them” relationship with migrants, as well as the fact that your collective is a first effort at united action against repressions that have existed for years. Why do you think there have been so few instances of cooperation between Warsaw's immigrant communities and freedom initiatives in the past?

B: The importance of this newly acquired role [of Poland] has been symbolically affirmed with the placement of FRONTEX headquarters in Warsaw's city center.

This status has resulted in stricter technologies of control and

management as well as increased systemic oppressions against migrants. At the same time, Poland's membership in the EU has attracted more migrants, whose ambivalent status of workers denied access to fundamental rights has in turn allowed for lowering the standards of work conditions and exerting more pressure on workers to fulfill market demands. In the absence of a critical discourse towards the logic of capitalism, within this new framework migrants are by default considered the main agents of the failing labor market, and the situation of Polish laborers. This in turn has fueled racism toward migrants among Polish society. In light of this drastic deterioration into a state of apartheid, the communities actively engaged in contesting capitalism finally realized that resisting the oppression of immigrants became a critical front in a greater struggle against the system as such.

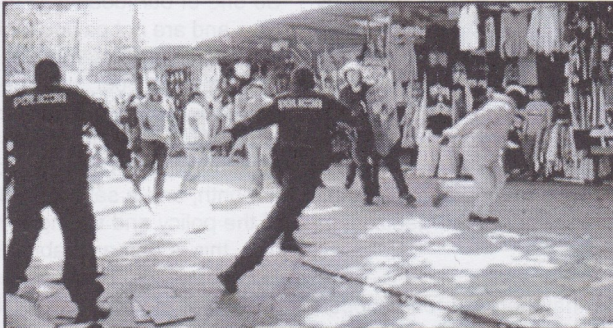


Abb : Summing up your activities, could you describe what

you were able to accomplish in Maxwell's case, as well as beyond, also are there any shortcomings?

L: Our greatest achievement has without doubt been the initial breaking of barriers between locals and migrants that was the result of our collective rage after the murder of Maxwell Itoya. On May 30, together with the Warsaw African community, we initiated a legalized demonstration against racism and police brutality, marching from the site of the shooting to the Warsaw police headquarters. Around 400 people participated, and the action forced the media to portray more than the police version. Subsequent praxis took the form of agitation in the streets and the media, legal and financial support of those arrested and Max's family, initiation of public discussions about what happened, artistic disturbances in public space, critical analysis in publications and the internet.

B: As a result of our various direct actions and the legal pressure we were able to exert (gathering the testimonies), the charges against the police officer responsible for Maxwell's death were intensified, from the absurd «overstepping of authority» to «accidental cause of death» (which still does not reflect reality, that is homicide).

M: Following our efforts at demanding justice for Maxwell Itoya, it became evident that the scope of our activities and objectives needed to gain breadth so as to correspond to other manifestations of oppression against migrants, such as at the workplace.



L: Alongside our direct agitation, we are currently working on a documentary film, a no border newspaper for various migrant communities published in four languages. We post updates about all our initiatives on our site: www.max-solidarity.pl. At the same time, we

encounter problems of all sorts. Warsaw's migrant community is very diversified and it proves difficult to work out a common model of cooperation. We are still looking for the right approaches and ideas toward supporting migrants in their initiatives and including them in our activities. Our frequent contact is allowing to better understand each other. And it is without doubt that the breaking of all barriers between us will inspire a joint march against borders of all types.

No Border No Nations!

Tenants' Movement: Radicalization or Reformism?

The direction of the Warsaw tenants movement came seriously into question this fall as a couple of groups chose different strategies. The situation reminds us of the problems one can face when seeking reform and working in broad coalitions.

Strona Spoleczna, the Rent Strike and False Hopes given by Politicians

For some months, when tenants of a house or street having problems approach us, members of the Tenants Defense Committee have been encouraging them to set up organizations. This is because it encourages their own self-activity. As more of these organizations sprung up, it was decided to form an umbrella organization of sorts, to show that we are "all together". 32 organizations so far have signed up.

The idea of coalitions is usually to show that there is broad support for something and to show we are stronger. However, there are sometimes problems one has to be aware of in work in coalitions. For example, radicalism may be dissuaded in favour of the most basic principles that all agree with - which means catering for the most cautious and non-confrontational politics. Another problem which is often encountered are ones of democratic process, making sure all entities are heard, and avoiding informal or formal leadership.

Forming coalitions like this, with a wider group that does not necessarily share all of the same goals, one has to beware, and be aware in advance of these potential problems and try to create procedures and institutions to avoid them.

Unfortunately, this did not happen with the tenants' coalition, called "Strona Spoleczna". Instead, everytime that somebody tried to bring up the issue, the topic was quickly changed by the dominant person, and, in my opinion, the quick establishment of a few dominant individuals at the meetings, who became the unelected leaders and representatives, doomed the coalition quite quickly. A few long-time activists were quick to sense this, but for others, especially for the tenants who never had any organizing experience before, the fact that there was a problem only became obvious later. In addition, it has to be noted that some do not perceive any problem since they accept the model of having leaders.

In April, tenants organizations had a special session and demanded round table negotiations with the city about reform of housing policy. After the summer break, the organizations went back to demanding negotiations, only there was a difference of approach: a couple of groups thought that more radical actions were needed to force this, while others thought a nicer, "social partner" approach would be more beneficial. In the end, the "social partner" approach won out in the coalition - but not as a result of careful consideration and a collective decision. Rather, it worked this way because only a few groups went to the meetings, there was irregular information about meetings, protocols were not sent by mail, there was no formal voting system and the informal leadership tended to ignore different opinions at the meetings. In this way, it even turned out that the opinions of the two oldest and largest groups in the coalition, the Warsaw Tenants Association and the Tenants Defense Committee, could be dismissed or ignored. Without any formal vote, a few people acted like leaders and made decisions against what was said in meetings, or just on their own accord.

In the Tenants Defense Committee, there is a majority against this approach, in favor of direct action, but there was no consensus about how radical the actions should be. So the idea for a rent strike was taken over by ZSP instead. (Members of ZSP are active in this Committee.) In the end almost all the members of the Committee wound up supporting this, but one publically criticized it.

We knew in advance that we could not achieve a wide-scale rent strike movement right away, since the conditions are not ready for that yet in Poland. However, the number of people not paying rent is very high anyway. In some neighbourhoods, 50-60 percent of people cannot pay their rent. It is just too much for them to afford. So one of our ideas was that, since these people come to us anyway, and are not paying their rent, the strike could give them a political choice. For example, instead of having this consciousness just that they are poor, that they are in debt, and feeling like they are somehow not behaving properly by not paying their rent, they could understand that the problem was not with them but with the poor housing policy of the city. For a person who has rent of 1300 zloties a month, and a salary of 1400 zloties, understanding the problems of the policy and saying, OK, I am right not to pay all my salary for rent, this is unreasonable and I join the strike - this is an empowering experience. Because the alternative is being told by the city or neoliberal ideologues that it is their problem that they don't earn enough, that they should get a second or third job, or move to a cheaper city or else they will just be evicted. The rent strike is a way for people in this situation to organize themselves, to say that they will commit themselves to helping others in their situation fight together against eviction and feel some solidarity and dignity.

The fear is quite high though and the social movements in Poland not strong. While a lot of people have come to open public meetings, or closed meetings about this all, few have publically demonstrated their support of the strike since they are afraid that the city will do as they threatened - speed up the eviction process for these people.

In the meanwhile, while we decided to hit the politicians hard before the elections, the leaders of the Strona Spoleczna try to get on electoral lists.

In terms of the social dialogue however, again the radicals were proven correct. The city never intended to have it. We understand that when they say, "yes, we will talk with you", this usually means that they will tell you why they can't do things, why everything is impossible and blow you off. What is worse is that the city immediately perceived that there were some more social dialogue types amongst the activists, and tried to use this to divide people. Because of course they would rather sit down to negotiations with people who will compromise a lot, or not press too hard, that with the radicals. However, in the end, even these people understood they were being manipulated. What they didn't understand is that the time they spent trying to be nice was time wasted, and something that made the movement lose some impetus.

Ultimately, these mistakes are inherent in the ideology of social dialogue and the creation of broad coalitions and they will be repeated and repeated as long as that ideology dominates.

This is not to say that we can never make coalitions, but they are almost condemned to such developments, unless the ideology and strategy is well-defined and common and there is a strong commitment to it.

In the end, we think this will ultimately only work to the advantage of the more radical and grassroots groups. The people saw that the social partnership strategy doesn't work and some were alienated by not being included in decisions. And the groups that are committed to working in a grassroots way confirmed this to each other, bringing them closer.

The actions will continue with public meetings, demos and occupations.

Laure Akai



Unknown Anarchist History: From the life of the "Liesma Flame" Group

The group was founded in August 1917 and from the beginning worked in the syndicalist direction.

Before its foundation comrades worked independently, as well as together with existing Russian groups. Later, in view of muWe are continuing this chapter of ABB with a very interesting story about Latvian anarchists. It was originally written by Phil Ruff and Janis Birze. We are looking for more articles on the history of Eastern European anarchist groups and movements.

ABB

by Janis Birze and Phil Ruff

[This account covers the Latvian anarchists' activities in Moscow, up to the Cheka raids of April 1918, when the Bolsheviks attacked anarchists in the city in the name of "Law and Order"]

The group was founded in August 1917 and from the beginning worked in the syndicalist direction.

Before its foundation comrades worked independently, as well as together with existing Russian groups. Later, in view of much greater efficiency if comrades could communicate in Latvian, working with Latvian workers, comrades decided to unite in a permanent group and found quarters which could be open at any time to interested workers, where existing anarchist literature would be available for their use, where on certain days comrades would be able to come together, read lectures, organise "question and answer" evenings for comrades and the broader public. But because such quarters were difficult to find, members gathered once a week in a tiny private apartment, where they were only able, packed like sardines, to review and discuss the most important issues for the group.

When the October revolution started all comrades subscribed either to the Red Guard or to the anarchist fighting organisation, and took the most active part in the October battles, extending their solidarity (hand in hand) with the formerly oppressed but now empowered and oppressing Bolshevik-Communists.

Other comrades, who at the time of the fighting were at the printing house "Moskovski Listok" (The Moscow Sheet), fought a fierce battle against the Junkers and only because of the cowardice of soldiers who had been called to the assistance of the anarchists after two days of fierce fighting were they disarmed and subjected to the Junker's violence. Together with coats and hats, also the whole capital of the group – several hundred roubles – was looted. (One of the comrades happened to have the money on him). Thus the group again remained without any means, and we had to postpone our plans to open permanent quarters for an indefinite time.

But time went on. Comrade Bolsheviks, who seized the Government's money, started to fall behind the growing revolution and, unable to forget their God Marx's holy words that social revolution is only possible with the concentration of

capital and that a lot of time was needed to reach it, it was necessary to step upon the tail of the revolution, so that it wouldn't derail from its prescribed path and topple the theory laid out in the thick volumes of Marx's Capital.

All this made comrades think that there was no time to wait until capital would "concentrate" in their cash box in order to rent quarters; quarters had to be acquired now, in the nearest future, irrespective of how and by what means. As social expropriations were already happening in other cities, where private houses, shops, factories and other private property were being nationalised, our comrades considered this a justified and important step in continuing the revolution, and decided to look out for an appropriate building where we could start our club.

In the end such a house was found in Presnensk Pereulok number 3. It was a small house without furniture and needed repairs in order to make living in it possible, but the group still occupied it and after a couple of weeks the Latvian Anarchists' Club of the "Liesma" group opened there.

In that time, as best we could, we bought in books and literature for our reading table and every Sunday public lectures were held which often attracted an audience of over a hundred people. On Wednesday evenings we organised theoretical reading circles for our comrades themselves, where various political issues were discussed. Special focus was upon the spreading of anarchist ideas, which in the end set the group on a distinct communist [anarchist-communist, not Bolshevik] platform.

With the growth of the group, many and various new needs appeared, one of the most important of which was the need to find a way to publish literature, because it was impossible to gather large masses of people in the tiny building – we had to give the masses something to read. We had to organise communes, show the masses an example and instil in them faith in the future free order (system). In order to realise all this we needed a larger building and financial means, money.

In January the group occupied a house in Malaja (Little) Dimitrovka, but because the house was inhabited, we had to share it with the earlier inhabitants (the owner of the house), and the group took only half of the house. The other half of the house with all the belongings (except for some furniture and the library) was given to the owner with the right to rent it.

The Club is now moving to the new quarters, while the former house is being renovated for a commune (communal flat).

The group started publishing literature. Because of lack of resources, at present only three pamphlets are being published and the other texts will be printed gradually, at the end of each job when the main work has been finished.

Apart from the ideological work, the group has also founded a Fighting Unit with acting members. So that the Fighting Unit could be self-reliant (independent), full ammunition and food parcels for all members were received from the main Red Headquarters. Their task was to defend the revolution, together with the Moscow workers, against the counter-revolutionary element that only waited to raise its head again.

With the arrival of the Latvian group from Kharkov on the order of the Revolutionary Committee, Group "Liesma", together with the Russian group "Kommuna" occupied a manor house in Vedenski Pereulok (side street), with two "fleugels" (out buildings), where only three people lived. One of these "fleugels" was occupied by "Kommuna", which had only just been organised and still didn't have their own quarters. The other "fleugel" was occupied by "Liesma" for the comrades from Kharkov, who had to come to Moscow at the beginning of April.

But because there were exceptionally many historical things in the newly occupied house – precious porcelain, old silver, famous masters' paintings, extensive libraries and an enormous collection of various ancient icons, the value of which was enormous (indescribable), after an evaluation by some artists both groups decided that, considering that [no] one person was able to use such treasures, which were not in the possession even of many a museum, and which were absolutely out of the reach for a wider public, they consider it their duty to see to it that all these historical treasures should be accessible to the broadest masses of people.

The group established contact with the members of the City Art Committee who took it upon themselves to organise and open a museum, which was also done in the first days of April.

Also, the group "Liesma" established contacts with the actors of the Moscow Latvian Theatre in order to open a Latvian Anarchist Theatre, which promises good results and has met a sympathetic response from the actors. A common united meeting of representatives of both theatres was planned on 12 April, at which the foundation of the Latvian Workers' Theatre would be laid. "But man supposes and God disposes"... In the night of 11/12 April we were woken up by a terrible noise, amid shooting and noise we could hear people screaming. In the first moments we couldn't ask anybody either. All rooms were overfilled with soldiers, who were on a

horrible looting spree – they just went mad like beasts who broke out of cages – who were ready to tear you to pieces with their teeth for every word you dared to say.

Later we found out that the unexpected guests were a unit of the Soviet government army, the Latvian Riflemen and others, and that on orders of the government we were arrested for some dark deeds, and like in October from the side of the Junkers, now on the orders of the Bolsheviks we were to be destroyed. After several days of torture in the cellars of the Kremlin and behind the walls of Butyrka Prison, we were recognised as "ideological revolutionaries" and were released with the following words from the high authorities: "we fight against bandits, but we leave ideological workers in peace".

We were recognised as "ideological" workers, but only after our ideological work had been completely destroyed, the literature which had cost us so much efforts and selfless work was burned, the printing press confiscated, all the capital looted. Rendered harmless, we were let off to go where we wanted.

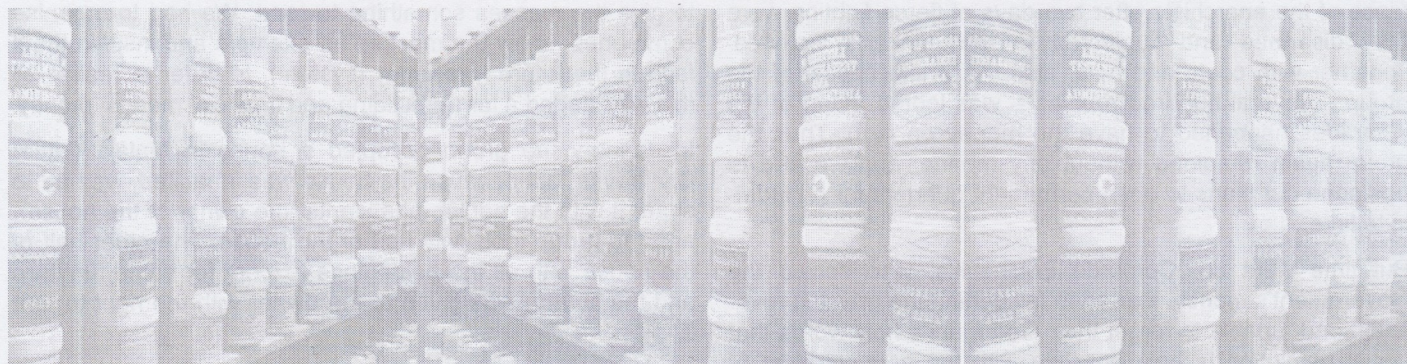
But it is possible to suppress a man, not an idea, and the "Liesma" group, having been robbed twice, did not stop its activities but renewed its work again with twice as much dedication and energy.

Pooling our last strength and means together, we started replacing our literature and started publishing our magazine to spread our ideas even more energetically.

"R"

The author of this article, "R", was Janis Birze (Remus), a Latvian anarchist who had taken part in the 1905 Revolution in the Baltic, first as a member of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party (LSDSP) then as a member of the Anarchist-Communist group "Liesma" and the leader of an anarchist fighting group that carried out numerous expropriations and attempted assassinations in Riga. Arrested in 1907, he was sentenced to 6 years hard labour on 2 April 1908, which he served in Riga and Pleskav (Pskov) prisons, afterwards being exiled to Jenisejas district (Siberia), in the region of Kansk, Vidrina pagasts. Freed by the revolution in March 1917, Birze re-formed "Liesma" in Moscow as this article describes. Of his subsequent life all that is known is that he worked in the Soviet Union in the trade sphere during the 1920s and 30s. His last known place of work was Novosibirsk, where "his life was ended" (according to a Soviet account written in 1962) at the end of the 1930s.

"From the life of the 'Liesma' group" Published in "Liesma" (Flame) No. 1, Moscow July 1918, by the Moscow Latvian Anarchist Group "Liesma"



New group found in Czechia - Black and pink block

Black and pink block, a queer and anarchist group, was recently created in Czechia. So far they only did a couple of actions. They first appeared as a block at official Czech queer parade, where they held a banner saying "anarchist, queer and rebel", and handed out leaflets talking about radical queer, anarchism and propagating grass-root self-defense (as queer parade was under heavy attack from neo-nazis) instead of relying on police protection. Attendants generally welcomed participation of black and pink block and widely discussed ideas in the leaflet.

Unfortunately black and pink block were the only anarchists that showed up at the event. Around 600 people gathered there, surrounded by police as about 250 mostly militant neo-nazis gathered in area to attack participants. However, attacks were sporadic because of a strong police presence. Sad but true, police really defended participants of the queer parade this year, and did it successfully. Anarchists just offered symbolical support and a couple of ideas which is not enough in the face of a huge and militant crowd of haters willing to attack.

Following is the first part of the leaflet talking about radical queer and anarchism:

"(...) focusing on the right to marriage keeps the idea that this rights should be connected to marriage. If we get married, we would contribute to the social norm of a pair living. This norm marginalizes singles, single parents, divorce or the other people living in non-traditional relationships"

Martha Ackelsberg, lesbian and anarchist author quoted in her article "Why we don't get married" written with her partner Judith Plaskow.

The term queer is used as label for gay, lesbian, transsexual or transgender people in Czechia. For us and a lot of other people queer is not a label for our sexual orientation, it is not even only about sexuality. Queer for us is a rejection of power relationships in society and a rejection of a process of normalization of how the beautiful and healthy body should look like, of how our intimate relationships should look like, of how sexual relationships should look like, of how the man should look like, of how the woman should look like. It allows us not to divide people according to who they sleep with as gays, lesbians or bisexuals. According to us these artificial categories only allows to normalize diversity in order to keep hetero-normative society going. They only allow to normalise the diversity, put it into the precisely labeled box and one day maybe even add a line with that label in an ID.

We all believe in a right to make our intimate and sexual relationships freely without control, repression and oppression. This is why we are unsatisfied with requests for equal legal rights, however they might be important for an individual as a tool for defense against institutionalized discrimination and oppression. The state guarantee of these rights would not push us closer to the state of society we would like to live in. It only makes differences in which people live invisible or it formalizes it.

We want society in which individual doesn't need an institutional grant for making his or her intimate relationships. At the end of the day we want society without institutions at all. Society without hierarchy organized from bottom on the principles of solidarity

and mutual aid.

We are sick of society in which the only important question is "how much it is?" If you could sell it and make money on it, it is good, if you can not, it is useless. And that "it" might be a product, animal, natural resource, but also an idea or human being itself. And of course also the rights for gays and lesbians.

Until the other sexual orientation could be sold, until it creates a market, than at least some of the institutions would support it. But we don't want our intimate relationships to become another commodity. We want freedom.

Sounds utopian? Might be. A hundred years ago it would be a utopia to have state guaranteed homosexual relationships. We believe that a free and self-managed society is possible. We believe that society in which colorful differences would be possible and valuable even without creating a market is the only alternative to a madness we see around us.

We are anarchists from The Black-pink Bloc
blackandpink@Safe-mail.net

Anarchists and elections in Czechia 2010: Solidarity with homeless people

Super-election year has taken place in Czechia this year. After the parliament, one municipality election and the senate election took place.

Especially Prague municipality elections were really disgusting with a lot of parties openly attacking homeless people and drug users with slogans like "homeless people out of Prague". This was the general discourse during elections across the political spectrum. The ruling right-wing party even came with a serious plan to build a "gathering camp" for homeless people on the outskirts of Prague, where they would be more or less kept by force.

In this atmosphere anarchists expressed solidarity with homeless people in various way. Especially active were Food Not Bombs group doing a public campaign (discussions about homelessness etc.) as well as direct actions (disturbing of a municipal meeting where they wanted to give an official green light to the camp etc.). The traditional autumn street party Freedom Not Fear (nothing in common with a German group of the same name) was devoted to this topic as well, with a lot of banners and other materials rejecting the idea of "moving" homeless people. Black and pink block did some direct action as well.

Neo-nazis tried to abuse the situation, and in an environment of hate against drug users they tried to organize "citizens watch groups" in an area where the only street health-care contact place for drug users is. Anyway, the place was occupied by around fifty antifascists of all kinds at the time of the announced arrival of nazis; only three of them showed up and quickly disappeared shortly after. However, the street clinic was attacked twice during night anyway.

Various groups were also attacking pre-election propaganda that basically flooded the streets. Anarchist art guerilla Vila 45 (UGV45), named after the house where the so-called "rebel generation" (anarchist social circles of writers and poets like Jaroslav Hasek etc.) gathered in the end of 19th century, attacked dozens of billboards and changed and decorated in a way that the new slogans spoke against environmental destruction and for a free society.

Antifascist action did simultaneous actions in various part of Czech republic attacking hundreds of billboards and posters with stickers saying "kick out the politicians".

The so-called "Army of pink dreamers", anti-authoritarian but not specifically anarchist group attacked dozens of billboards and posters in Prague with pink color bombs and painted slogans like "evil" and "liars" on them.

New autonomous place in Prague

From the ashes of Krtkova Kolona (Revolver respectively) a new autonomous place was created. Its name is Discentrum and you can find it in the area of Zizkov cargo train station, in hall number 1, near metro station Jana Zelivskeho. Open the whole week since 17:00 and since 13:00 on weekends.



Statement of the collective follows:

Current collective have decided to leave infoshop Revolver in Prague's district Nusle and move closer to city centre, next to one of the busiest main roads, to the site where the freight railway station Zizkov is located. Main reason for change is the low interest of people for a clearly political "caf". Also, a few years ago the infoshop Krtkova kolona had to solve that problem. After we moved to Revolver the situation has not improved. The decision to end the clearly political infoshop does not mean we want to abandon the concept of an infocentre. The Infoshop in Discentrum will work in a better or at least unchanged way. Discentrum is approximately three-times bigger than Revolver, thus there is the possibility to put into practice a much wider range of activities 24 hours a day (maybe more :-)). Discentrum gives you an opportunity to organize concerts, projections, lectures, discussions, workshops, exhibitions with space for more than a hundred people. There's room for audio studio, cycle hire-service, working-room, gardening, free internet, and a lounge is also gonna to be there. The Discentrum collective is a free gathering of people with an anti-authoritarian view point. Participation in centrum's action schedules and life can involve everybody who is going to actively share its grounds. Similar to infoshop Revolver or Krtkova Kolona, in Discentrum we do not want to create classical faceless hub with live-music. Despite the fact that we serve basic alcoholic drinks, we want to let you know, that this ground is not dedicated to heavy drinking, hard drugs and so on! At our bar you do not find tobacco or products with meat.

We are not lodging house, but if there is a need to stay for a while, it is possible. We are looking forward to you. **Discentrum collective**

15 years of Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation

The first culturally-political meeting in 15 years of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF) took place last weekend (3.-5.9.2010) in Prague in the autonomous space of Discentrum.

CSAF was founded in August 1995. It is now part of the International of Anarchist Federations. Several hundred active members participated in organizing dozens of public events, on writing or translating anarchist publications and many other kinds of anti-authoritarian and libertarian activities throughout its history.



Federation's anniversary was a great excuse for us to set up a reunion of former and current members, although it was not meant to be just a common celebration, but above all a meeting of lectures and discussions on the current situation and the future of the local anarchist movement. There was a cultural program as well.

Friday afternoon's program began with the screening of documentary films about the most significant events where the modern Czech anarchist movement took part, followed by a lecture on the current situation in Greece by the group Collectively Against Capital. Evening's program ended with a rich vegan feast and the performance of a folksinger.

On Saturday there were several lectures and discussions. A member of Anti-fascist Action held a lecture on the role of anarchism in anti-fascist activities in Czech Republic, followed by a lecture by a member of CSAF reflecting on 15 years of organizational work in the Federation, explaining the positive and negative aspects of the Czech anarchist movement's work throughout its history. He also pointed out some specific current issues that need to be solved. Editor of the local anarchist journal A-Kontra then held an evaluation of anarchist participation in social movements in the Czech Republic in the last 20 years. As the last lecture, the presentation of the activities of one of the local independent anarchist group was held by one of its members. Then the gig of several punk and hardcore bands of current or former activists of CSAF took place.

Sunday's program continued in a much calmer spirit. Two members of the International Solidarity Movement took a lecture on anarchist possibilities in participation in the fight against the occupation of Palestine, followed by the screening of a longer documentary film about protests against the IMF and World Bank summit in Prague in 2000.

Visitors of the meeting could also visit an exhibition describing and explaining the history of CSAF or buy current materials of CSAF or other anarchist groups. The event was funded by voluntary contributions and a raffle, where each ticket won.

The whole event was not publicly advertised, yet it was visited by more than a hundred people-current or former members of CSAF and other organized and unorganized anarchists.

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info@littleblackcart.com

★ Czolgosz

jvertigo@juno.com

★ AK Press

www.akpress.org



Communities in Struggle

The Never Complete List of Anarchist Groups, Projects and Collectives from Eastern Europe

WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM
www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)
www.abb.hardcore.lt (bad english)

ARMENIA

- * "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@freenet.am

BELARUS

- * **Antifa football league**
<http://www.baf-league.com/>
- * **Antinuclear Resistance** - No more Chernobyls!
[antiatombel\[at\]riseup.net](mailto:antiatombel[at]riseup.net)
<http://anr.noblogs.org/>
- * **Autonomous Action**
<http://belarus.avtonom.org>
 -Minsk:
belarus@avtonom.org
 -Soligorsk (Minsk region):
nonexecution@gmail.com
- * **Linux Vacation Eastern Europe**
<http://www.lvee.org/>
- * **Eat Yourself**
 D.I.Y. punk/hardcore crew from Homiel and Mahiliow
<http://eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru/>
- * **Food Not Bombs** - Minsk
[fnb-minsk\[at\]riseup.net](mailto:fnb-minsk[at]riseup.net)
<http://fnbminsk.noblogs.org/>
- * **Food Not Bombs** (and other initiatives) - Brest
brestunite@riseup.net
- * **Free Theatre** - anarchist theatre from city of Brest
freetheatrebr@yahoo.com
<http://svobodny.kontakt.net/>
- * **Squatters' movement of Minsk**
squatthebelarus@riseup.net
- * **Indymedia** - Belarus
<https://belarus.indymedia.org/>
- * **Kairos** - libertarian analytic blog
<http://kairos.noblogs.org/>
- * <http://razam.by.ru/> - website of already nonexistent KDS "Razam" / Condefederation of Active Initiatives "Together"; quite informative what concerns earlier years of social struggles in Belarus
- * <http://anarchistory.boom.ru/> - history of anarchy in Belarus
- * <http://www.375crew.org/> - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus
- * <http://fcd-zumado.anho.org/> - DIY distro with anarchist attitude
- * <http://naziscum-by.noblogs.org/> - Nazi Watch Belarus

Zines:

- * A-party-Ya (R.I.P.) - Brest
sanjaamatar@gmail.com
- * Defect In Industry - Minsk
defectinindustry@mail.ru
- * New World -- Minsk
 P. O. Box 37
 220053 Minsk Belarus
lydok@riseup.net
- * oD.I.Y.syal - Minsk
 P. O. Box 389 220090 Minsk Belarus
okpunkrock@mail.ru
- * Rebel Desire -- Minsk
 P. O. Box 33 220123 Minsk Belarus
rusel13@gmail.com
- * Tryznas kefiras - Minsk/Vilnius
tryznas-kefiras@riseup.net
<http://tryznas-kefiras.noblogs.org>
- * Namerenje - Minsk
tanuysha@riseup.net
- * Blah-blah-blah - Brest
uzhasno@bk.ru, lets87@bk.ru
- * <http://svobodna.org.ua/> - international feminist website in Russian; grrrlz from Belarus also make contributions to it

BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

- * **Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina"** - Banjaluka; ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk
- * www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com - anarchist info from BiH

BULGARIA

- * **Anarchist Portal** <http://a-bg.net>
- * **Anarchist writings**
<http://savanne.ch/svoboda>
- * **Anarcho-saprotiva autonomous group**
aresistance@riseup.net
- * **Anarchy in BG** <http://change.to/anarchy>
- * **Animal rights, anarcho-primitivism, feminism** <http://anarchyfuture.a-bg.net/>
- * **'Aresistance'** - D.I.Y. anarcho punk hardcore web zine, diy@aresistance.net, www.diy.aresistance.net
- * **'Ecotopia'** - Infocenter Razgrad, infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com
- * **Independent media center**
<http://bulgaria.indymedia.org/>
- * **'Katarzis'** - DIY zine, katarzis@riseup.net
sfti.diy@gmail.com
- * **Subcultures, crust, punk, hardcore**
<http://music.a-bg.net/>
- * **'Svobodna Misl'** - Bulgarian anarchist newsletter, <http://sm.a-bg.net/>

CROATIA

- * **Sabota a pokvarenog sistema'** - internet network collective, aktivizam@yahoo.com
www.sabotazapokvarenogsistema.tk
- * **CAKOVEC:**
- * **Tabula Rasa** - infoshop, Josipa Kozarca BB, post.: p.p. 18, 40315 M, Sredisce PULA:
 "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula;
<http://squat.net/monteparadiso>;
info@monteparadiso.hr
- * **RJJEKA:**
- * **Rijecka anarhisticka inicijativa** - rai2002@net.hr, www.rai.anarhija.org
- * **katula** - infoshop, Delta 5 (Ivex building, 1st floor), 5100 Rijeka, infoshopskatula@net.hr
- * **ZADAR:**
- * **Direktna akcija** - anarchoindicalist initiative
direktnaakcija@gmail.com
- * **Inicijativa queer** - anarchoqueer group, inicijativa_queer@yahoo.com
- * **Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front** - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com;
www.solidarnost.mahost.org
- * **ZAGREB:**
- * **Anarhisticki sajam knjiga** - anarchist bookfair, www.ask-zagreb.org
- * **AnFema** - anarchofeminist action, anfema.action@gmail.com, www.anfema.tk
- * **FNB** - hno-zg@net.hr, www.hranaaneoruzje.net

CZECHIA

- * **Antifascisticka Akce (AFA)**
<http://www.antifa.cz>
kontakt@antifa.cz
monitoring@antifa.cz
media@antifa.cz
shop@antifa.cz
international@antifa.cz
- Local anti-fascist groups by towns and regions:
 - **Beroun**, berounsko@antifa.cz
 - **Blansko**, blanensko@antifa.cz
 - **Brno**, brno@antifa.cz
 - **Kladno (Antifascisticka odpor)**
kladno@antifa.cz
 - **Kralupy n. Vltavou**, kralupy@antifa.cz
 - **Olomouc**, olomoucko@antifa.cz
 - **Opava (Autonomna antifa)**,
<http://opava.antifa.net>, opava@antifa.cz
 - **Ostrava (Autonomna antifa)**,
ostrava@antifa.cz
 - **Praha**, <http://praha.antifa.net>,
praha@antifa.cz
 - **Prerov**, prerov@antifa.cz
 - **Rakovnik**, rakovnik@antifa.cz
 - **Northern Bohemia**, sever@antifa.cz
 - **Teplice**, <http://teplice.antifa.net>,
teplice@antifa.cz
 - **Vysocina - Jihlava region**,
vysocina@antifa.cz

- **Zlin region**, zlinsko@antifa.cz
- * **Anarcho-feminist group** - anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz, anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz
- * **-1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita)** - paha@solidarita.org, www.solidarita.org, tel: +420 604 247 218
 - regional group of Brno, brno@solidarita.org, tel: +420 732 616 695
- * **Anarchistick sdru en Uhersk Hradi te** - Anarchist group of Uhersk Hradi te, uhas@email.cz
- * **"A-kontra"** - anarchist magaz ne, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel. +420 605 903 098, e-mail: a-kontra@csaf.cz, www.a-kontra.net
- * **"Bloody Mary"** - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, bloodymary@bust.com, c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
- * **Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF)**
www.csaf.cz, csaf@csaf.cz - from there mail forwarded to local group or someone
Postal contact: CSAF, P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
- * **Infocafe Krtkova Kolona in Prague**
<http://kk.czechcore.cz>, kk@czechcore.cz, Sochalska 6, Praha 7, 170 00, +420 604 247 218
- * **Squat Milada in Prague** - <http://milada.s.cz>, milada@s.cz, Na Kindlovce 1, Praha 8
- * **FSA-MAP** - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international secretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org
- **Northern Czechia**, fas-sever@anarchismus.org
- **Zlinsko**, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
- **Prague**, fas-praha@anarchismus.org
- **Brno**, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
- **Jihlava**, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
- **Pardubice**, fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org
- * **Info Caf "Krtkova kolona"** - (anarchist info-caf), Socharsk 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, kk@czechcore.cz, www.kk.czechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191
- * **Hudebni klub "Za vraty"** - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, international@zavraty.com, www.zavraty.com, tel. +420 723 555 287
- * **Squat "Milada"** - Prague only squat, Na kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, squat_milada@centrum.cz

ESTONIA

- * **Be UnderGround** - punk zine, antiporvari@riseup.net, www.myspace.com/bug_zine
- * **Food Not Bombs** - Tallinn - videomees@hotmail.ee
- * www.punamust.org/ - anarchist web-site
- * www.hot.ee/anarchism - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

HUNGARY

- * **AFK** - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); www.socialdisease.tk
- * **Barricade Collective** - anarchist group; www.anarkom.lapja.hu
- * **"Gondolkodo Antikvarium"** - anarchist bookshop; www.ainfok.ini.hu; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (near metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
- * **Morze Infoshop** - Heged utca 3.; 1182 Budapest
www.metatron.sh/infoshop; morze-infoshop@riseup.net
- * **Ruganegra** - (street folklore staff); www.ruganegra.tk
- * **Social Disease Kollektiva (anarchopunk collective)** - <http://socialdisease.tk>
- * www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo - anarchist web-site

KAZAKHSTAN

* **www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru** - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

LATVIA

* **Infokaste** - anarchist D.I.Y. infoshop, cafe & distro, infokaste@riseup.net, www.neirothe.net/infokaste

* **Pretspars Collective** - zine, distro, web, actions - http://pretspars.hardcore.lt; pretspars@riseup.net

* **"Zabadaks"** - DIY culture house, zabba@inbox.lv, www.nekac.lv, tel. +371 3320666. DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekac.lv, maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

* **Autonomous Action** - in Rezekne elbort@rambler.ru

LITHUANIA

* **active@hardcore.lt** - LT activists network
* **"Elnias"** - space for various DIY activities; Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai, gabrielel@takas.lt

* **"Gyvas"** - space for various DIY activities, Kauno str. 1a (in the yard), Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt

* **"Pavasaris Infoshop"** - Mindaugo str. 20-12, Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt

* **"Posedziui Sale"** - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 204 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; sgausiperemaila@yahoo.com, fiorfraga@gmail.com, tel +37067809606 http://posedis.mums.lt

* **booking@hardcore.lt** - booking in Lithuania
* **www.hardcore.lt** - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

MACEDONIA

* **direct action** - anarchist collective directa@freemail.com.mk

* **fuck yoga** - a distro and label neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com

* **kaka** - a distro and label surovo@yahoo.com

* **napravi sam** - a collective radexxx2000@yahoo.com

* **teror 13** - a infoshop info@teror13.tk www.teror13.anarhija.org

MOLDOVA

* **Autonomous Action** - in Kishinev; system_must_dead@bk.ru black_anarh@mail.ru

POLAND

* **ABC/ACK** - www.ack.most.org.pl
- Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741

* **Warszawa 121** - ack-wawa@o2.pl, www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html
- Poznan - po box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, ack@rozbrat.org, tel. 0618484672 (tue 19-21, We-Thu 17-20), www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm

* **Bialystok** - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26., abcbialystok@o2.pl, www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl

- Lodz - riefka@gmail.com
- Warszawa-Praga - zaczek@gmail.com
- Mielec - redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl
- Przasnysz - fnb-przasnysz@o2.pl
- Wroclaw - tomasso@riseup.net

* **Anarchist Library** - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

* **Anarchist Library** - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.

* **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl

* **"Bractwo Trojka"** - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; bractwo_trojka@wp.pl, www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl,

* **"Bunkier"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun;

stagnation@wp.pl

* **Chaos Grrrl** - anarchist-feminist zine from Warsaw; chaosgrrrl@o2.pl

* **"Czarna Emilka"** (Black Emily) - local of GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very centre of the city

* **"Czarny Pajak"** ("Black Spider") - anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czs.prv.pl; maciek@riseup.net

* **Dziewczyny w Akcji** (Girls in Action) - anarchist feminist group in Bialystok;

www.dziewczynnywajki.prv.pl; dziewczynywajki@wp.pl

* **"Elblaska"** - squat in Warsaw

* **Emancypunx** - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78;

www.emancypunx.com; emancypunx@o2.pl

* **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.

Office of FA - biurofa@riseup.net
FA Warszawa / WGA - w.g.a@poczta.fm
www.emilka.bzzz.net/spotkania/spotkania.htm

FA Warszawa Praga - fapraga@gmail.com ;

www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop/

FA Slask - fas@riseup.net

FA Torun - fatorun@riseup.net

FA Slupsk - feniks33@interia.pl

FA Poznan - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org ;

www.rozbrat.org

Address: Sklot Rozbrat ul. Pulaskiego 21a 60-966 Poznan; P.O.Box 5 60-966 Poznan 50, fila 8; Tel: Anarchist Library (We-Fr 17-20): +61/8484672 607992069

FA Krakow - fakrakow@buziaczek.pl ;

www.fakrakow.wordpress.com/

FA Ldz - falodz@riseup.net ;

maciek@riseup.net ; www.czs.prv.pl

FA Inowroclaw - crustian@tlen.pl

FA Czesochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl ;

yeti1202@tlen.pl ;

www.faczestochowa.most.org.pl

FA Gorzow Wielkopolski - fagorzow@o2.pl ;

www.fagorzow.prv.pl/

FA Lasin - anarchy@op.pl ;

www.zmowa.bzzz.net/

FA Dublin (section of polish anarchists in Ireland) - fadublin@gmail.com

FA Sieradz - fa.sieradz@gmail.com

Food Not Bombs

- Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45

- Lodz - falodz@riseup.net

- Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl

- Poznan - fnb@rozbrat.org

- Warsaw - fnb@op.pl; www.fnb.w.pl

www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan

- Rzeszow - ul.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303

Rzeszow; tel.602769138.

- Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2;

44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com

www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl

* **Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar** - feminikalendarz06@interia.pl

* **"Freedom"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. crkblabla@gmail.com, http://www.crk-wro.info/

* **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** - Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 1830- 2000 or longer, Sun. 1400-1700 plus by appointment and during events ; fapraga@gmail.com;

www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop,

* **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA**

(Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;

* **INNY SWIAT** - anarchist magazine and distro; c/o Janusz Krawczyk, po box 24, 39-300 Mielec 3, innykrawat@wp.pl , www.innyswiat.most.org.pl

* **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.

* **IP-FA / Silesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl

* **Inicjatywa Pracownicza** (Workers Initiative) - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl

* **Kolektyw Autonomistów** (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl j "Kromera" - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.

* **LadyFest** - there are few Lady-fests in Poland (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw); www.ladyfest.webpark.pl; ladyfestwawa@o2.pl

* **"Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends"** - festival in Wroclaw with conference,

workshops, films, street actions
www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/ (co-organized by the

anarcha-feminist groups)

* **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**

- Krakow - testcyf@kr.edu.pl

- Poznan - lets@poland.com

* **Liberta** - anarchist-feminist group in

Wroclaw; libertagrill@o2.pl

* **"Little Mary"** - anarchist squat in

Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;

* **"Marcowanie"** - anarchist-feminist mailing

list, bulletin and regular women camp

* **Obin** (Warsaw) - radical street-art collective organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for free; www.obin.org

* **"Pilon"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; address: ulica

Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city).

pilon@poczta.onet.pl; www.pilon.za.pl

* **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** -

www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl ; po box 43;

15-662 Bialystok 26. wildeast@poczta.onet.pl

* **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leader team based in Warszawa; rchpl@o2.pl

* **Refuse** - underground label & mailorder

(books, zines, music);

www.refuserecords.prv.pl

* **Revenge of The Nerds** (Warsaw) -

anarchist-feminist zine distribution/editors; www.revengeofthenerds.bzzz.net

* **Revolution Diva** - anarchist-feminist zine (Poznan)

* **"Rozbrat"** - squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library - ul.

Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966

Poznan 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org,

www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org

* **S.E.K.W. "Krzyk"** - squat / anarchist

centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice

(ul.Sienkiewicza 25; tel.+48 504878370).

* **Sister to Sister** - anarchist feminist group/network around Poland, mail-order and anarchist dyke zine "Lechtaczka"; sistersister@o2.pl

* **"streFA"** - infoshop in Szczecin;

ul.Domanskiego 1c, tel.504935357.

* **"Szwejk"** - anti-military service and

Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul.Pulaskiego

21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31,

www.antywojenna.prv.pl,

antywojenna@rozbrat.org

* **"Tekno Collective"** - underground techno

crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

* **Ugrupowanie Feministyczne**

Anarchistyczne (UFA) - anarcho-feminist

group in Poznan;

ufa@rozbrat.org

* **Valpurgi Night** - regular festival against

homophobia and sexism in Warsaw, with

workshops, conference, spoken word,

concerts, films...

www.myspace.com/nocwarpurgii;

* **Wiedzma (The Witch)** - anarcho feminist

group; Po Box 3321-500 Biala Podlaska;

Poland; witchgrrl@poczta.onet.pl ;

www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

* **"Ya Banda"** - anarchist samba band

Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@o2.pl

ROMANIA

* **Aactiv-ist Collective Timisoara, Antifa**

autonome - anarchist punk group

aactivistcollective@yahoo.com;

pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro

* **A Nera** - ecological, social and (counter)

cultural center; in the mountains Cheile Nerei;

aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

* **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** -

spleenpatty@yahoo.com

* **C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front)** - anarchist

collective from city of Craiova;

libertatero@yahoo.com

* **Fight Back** - anarchist collective Bucharest,

www.fight-back.tk

* **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution

& bookings for diy concerts tours;

g_a_rezidenta@yahoo.com

* **Info-Propaganda** - anarchist leaflets

publishing from Craiova;

libertatero@yahoo.com

* **URA** - anarcho-punk fanzine from Craiova;

www.antifa-antitot.blogspot.com;
libertatero@yahoo.com
★ **Love Kills** - woman anarchopunk zine /
Craiova; www.lilith-lovekills.blogspot.com;
jolierouge101@yahoo.com
★ **"Revolta!"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy
hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara;
aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
★ **Subteran Collective** - anarchist-activists
collective in the city of Iasi;
subteran_iasi@yahoo.com
★ **www.proiectns.org** - grassroots activist site

RUSSIA

★ **Alliance for Animal Rights**
(Radical non-hierarchical grassroot activism
for animal rights)
http://aar.org.ru/
http://animalrights.ru/
Contact: news(A T) animalrights.ru
★ **Alterkom** - network of student resistance in
Petrozhavodsk
http://altercom.forum24.ru/
altercom A T bk.ru
★ **Anarchist Black Cross Moscow**
P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia
(no name of the group to envelope, please!)
http://www.avtonom.org/abc
http://www.myspace.com/abcmcs
abc-msk A T riseup.net
★ **Anarchist Black Cross of St. Petersburg**
Alekdandr Vitalyevich Yermakov
P.O. Box 32 194291 St. Petersburg
(no name of the group to envelope, please!)
sprafa A T riseup.net
novsvet89 A T gmail.com
★ **Anarchists of Petrozhavodsk**
http://www.ptz-anarchist.narod.ru
ruinos (A T) mail.ru
★ **Libertarian Marxist group "Derzay"**,
Derzay-zine
P.O. Box 152
420044 Kazan Russia
http://derzaj.ru
red (A T) derzaj.ru
Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group -
Russia
http://aeliberation.net,
aeinfo A T aeliberation.net
★ **Antifa Ulan-Ude**
afa.ulanude (A T) gmail.com
http://www.myspace.com/afa_ulanude
★ **Anti-fascist Association of St. Petersburg**
http://afaspb.mahost.org/
tel: +7-812-947 14 76
★ **Association of Anarchist Movements**
(ADA-IFA) - member groups and individuals
★ **Online community:**
http://community.livejournal.com/ada_ifa/
★ **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists** - SKA
(Also for Taynoe Pisanie - zine)
www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru
★ **Alliance of Kazan anarchists** - AKA
P.O. Box 132 Kazan
420059 Tatarstan Russia
antimil A T narod.ru
http://akaada.narod.ru
★ **Krasnoyarsk group of ADA**
ada-krk@mail.ru
St. Petersburg
maridze@gmail.com
★ **Yaroslavl** (individuals)
ada-yaroslavl A T riseup.net
http://anarcho.front.ru
Zeleznogorskiy Union of Anarchists
zhisa@list.ru
★ **Alliance of Libertarian Initiatives** (of St.
Petersburg)
(Coordinates local activities of Anarchist Black
Cross, Autonomous
Action, Food Not Bombs, Pyotr Alekseyev
Resistance Movement, Punk
Revival, St. Petersburg League of Anarchists
and others)
spbnabat@gmail.com
★ **Autonomous Action**
http://avtonom.org,
info A T avtonom.org,
Regional groups of Autonomous Action:
★ **Barnaul** ad.barnaul@gmail.com
★ **Blagoveschensk** (Amur region):
ad_bлага@riseup.net
★ **Irkutsk**, also for Free Siberia-paper:
http://irkutsk.anho.org

a.volokos@gmail.com
★ **Kirov:** assa@diino.com
★ **Krasnodar:** P.O.Box 4943 350075
Krasnodar Russia
asmodeys1@gmail.com
★ **Magadan:** eternity11@yandex.ru
Magnitogorsk: razer@riseup.net
Moscow, also for Avtonom-journal:
adm@avtonom.org
avtonom @avtonom.org
P.O.Box 13, Moscow, 109028 (no name on
envelope, please!)
★ **Nizhny Novgorod**, also for Situation-
paper: P.O.Box 25 603104
Nizhny Novgorod Russia
(no name on envelope, please!)
http://nnov.avtonom.org
avtonom69@gmail.com,
situazion@avtonom.org
★ **Novosibirsk:** nsk@avtonom.org,
zemfa@riseup.ru
Saratov: pkropotkin@yandex.ru
Tyumen: streetriot@inventati.org, akbar
@riseup.net
★ **Ufa:** ufa@riseup.net, adufa@mail.ru
Cities with individual members of
Autonomous Action:
★ **Cheboksary:** punkvil @yandex.ru
★ **Chita:** Myrava.trava @gmail.com
★ **Ivanovo:** kvazimodo@riseup.net
★ **Izhevsk:** avtonom.cinema@gmail.com,
avtonom18 A T yahoo.com
http://izhevsk.avtonom.org
★ **Kaliningrad:** swindle A T riseup.net
Kemerovo: moreaction.lesstears@gmail.com
★ **Mikhalevo of Ivanov oblast:** luzippy @
mail.ru
★ **Murmansk:** P.O. Box 4614 183959
Murmansk Russia
tel: 22 89 73 (Aleksandr), vp1@inbox.ru
★ **Novorossiysk:** Atari@yandex.ru
★ **Penza:** komin1987@inbox.ru
Perm: deadsun@rambler.ru, kisa_war@ mail.ru
★ **Petrozhavodsk:** sad1st-ptz@mail.ru
Rostov-na-Donu g_p_v @inbox.ru
★ **Ryazan:** http://ad-62.narod.ru/ ad-62@
bk.ru
★ **Samara:** verogiper@mail.ru
★ **Shelekhov of Irkutsk oblast:** a.volokos@
gmail.com
★ **St. Petersburg**, also for PetrogrADets -
paper: ad-spb@riseup.net
★ **Tolyatti:** ad-til@mail.ru
★ **Vladivostok**, also for Udar-paper: a-
avtonom_vl @riseup.net,
ccccka@gmail.com
★ **Volgograd:** volgauto@inbox.ru
★ **Yekaterinburg:** P.O. Box 329 620135
★ **Yekaterinburg Russia**
libertarizm@gmail.com
Individual press distributors of Autonomous Action
★ **Biysk** (Altay region): rastamao@
404team.org
★ **Kaluga:** antiglobal@mail.ru
★ **Kamyshin of Volgograd region:**
antoaha@bscom.ru
★ **Naberezhnye Chelny** (Tatarstan): granat-
rzn @mail.ru
★ **Neftekamsk** (Bashkortan): rocks@list.ru
★ **Ozersk of Chelyabinsk oblast:** avtonom-
ozersk@ yandex.ru, padlik@ bk.ru
★ **Sakhalin:** paha_keeper @mail.ru
★ **Samara:** avtonom-samara@ yandex.ru
★ **Sochi:** palma17v A T gmail.com, gaura@
riseup.net
★ **Vologda:** blackflag@list.ru
★ **Voronezh:** dingir@mail.ru
★ **Yaroslavl:** anarcho_kommuna @mail.ru,
hkos_68@ mail.ru
★ **Yoshkar Ola:** punk@zvenigovo.ru,
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★ **Zarechniy** (Sverdlovsk oblast): kontrkultura
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★ **Bakunin Fund**
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+7 (916) 322 33 47
http://www.bakunin-fund.da.ru/
bakunin-fund@mail.ru
★ **Black Bloc** (Voronezh)
http://blackbloc.anho.org

blackblok0@gmail.com
★ **Clandestine Insurrectionary Rebel Clown**
Army in Moscow
ka@riseup.net
★ **Critical Mass** (Moscow),
http://massa.org.ru/
critical.mass.moscow@gmail.com
★ **Confederation of revolutionary Anarcho-**
Syndicalists (KRAS-AIT)
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P.O.Box 34
117485 Moscow Russia
(no name of the group to the envelope)
http://kras.fatal.ru/
http://kras-ait.over-blog.com/
comanar@mail.ru
★ **Rostov-na-Donu**
P.O.Box 4059
344103 Rostov-na-Donu Russia
socprotest@pochta.ru
★ **Saransk**
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★ **Yaroslavl**
P.O. Box 733
150052 Yaroslavl Russia
liberta2004@inbox.ru
★ **Cultural Center "DUPLO" & Alternative**
movie club Diversija in Samara
http://www.duplo.narod.ru/
duplo@yandex.ru
★ **Organized Siberian Antifascists**
siberia@riseup.net
http://o-s-a.anho.org/
★ **Food Not Bombs**
General contact: fnbru@riseup.net
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Irkutsk: irkfnb@gmail.com
Izhevsk: edavmestobomb@gmail.com
Kazan: fnb-kazan@yandex.ru,
http://www.fnb-kazan.narod.ru/
Kirov: punkauskirov@mail.ru
Krasnodar: fnb_krsndr @mail.ru
Krasnoyarsk: afa-krk@yandex.ru
Moskva: http://edavmestobomb.narod.ru/
fnb-msk@riseup.net
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Tyumen: fnb_tyumen@autistici.org
Ufa: fnb@nuufa.org
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Volzhkiy: fnbvz @mail.ru
Voronezh: fnb-vrn @ yandex.ru
★ **For the Abolition of Vivisection!** -
Initiative group (SHAC Russia),
http://zhestokosti.net/
http://stopanimaltests.livejournal.com,
skazhi@zhestokosti.net
★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation of**
Toms
http://kulac.narod.ru
★ **Free University**
(anarchist lectures in St Petersburg)
voluni@list.ru
★ **House-museum of Pyotr Alekseyevich**
Kropotkin
tel: +7(495)993-92-04 (Jan Lvovich Prusskiy)
m448@mail.museum.ru
★ **Indyvideo**,
http://indyvideo.ru/
indyvideo@riseup.net
★ **MPST (Inter-Professional Union of**
Workers)
Phone: +7-963-923-39-69
e-mail: mmagid@mail.ru, wwp61@ mail.ru,
buhl1@yandex.ru,
aneretik @gmail.com
http://mpst.anho.org
★ **Network of Working Place Resistance**
http://antijob.anho.org/
★ **Punk Revival** -- St.Petersburg,
http://pv.mahost.org/
aocats@gmail.com
★ **Punk-Revival Moscow**
http://pv.anho.org/forum/index.php
oipunkpv @googlemail.com
★ **Rainbow Keepers**
Moscow: Hranitelisvetlana @ gmail.com
Samara: duplos@ yandex.ru
★ **RASH St. Petersburg**
http://rash-spb.org/

★ **Red Skins** - Anti-fascist skinheads
<http://www.redskins.ru/>,
 admin@redskins.ru

★ **Siberian Confederation of Labour**
 sibokt@gmail.com
<http://syndikalist.narod.ru/>

★ **Victor Serge library**
<http://www.praxiscenter.ru/>,
 praxis2001@mail.ru, praxiscenter@gmail.com

★ **Websites:**
 404team.org - activist tech group
n@404team.org (also Jabber)
 Anarchist songs
<http://www.a-pesni.golosa.info/>
 Anarchists of St. Petersburg
<http://new-novsvet.narod.ru/>
 Anti-fascist portal of information and analysis
<http://www.antifa.p0.ru/>
 ★ **Anti-yuppie** - news of anti-glamorous culture of Kaliningrad and surrounding region
www.anti-yuppi.narod.ru
 witamin_w38 (a t) rbcmil.ru

★ **Bakunista! website** - theory and analysis, anarchist history
<http://bakunista.nadir.org>
 bakunista@riseup.net

★ **Golosa.info** - open publishing website from Tyumen region
<http://golosa.info>,
 admin@golosa.info

★ **Good Night White Pride**
<http://goodnightwhitepride.com/>

★ **Indymedia Russia**,
<http://ru.indymedia.org/>,
 indyru@nadir.org

★ **Indymedia Kuban** (Krasnodar region and Adygeya)
<http://kuban.indymedia.ru>
 imckuban@riseup.net

★ **Indymedia Piter** (St. Petersburg),
<http://piter.indymedia.org/>,
 imc-piter@riseup.net

★ **Indymedia Siberia**,
<http://imc-siberia.org>,
 info@imc-siberia.org

★ **Nazi-Watch Russia**
<http://nazi-watch.noblogs.org/>

★ **News about squatting and squatter movement**
<http://squat.anho.org/>

★ **A website on Nestor Makhno**
www.makhno.ru

★ **A zine archive**
<http://www.diy-zine.com/>
Notable blogs:

★ http://anarchism_ru.livejournal.com

★ http://anarchia_ru.livejournal.com

★ <http://anatrtra.livejournal.com> - migration, anti-fascism etc.

★ <http://aviers38.livejournal.com> - anarchism in St. Petersburg

★ <http://copylefter.livejournal.com> - copyright, copyleft, creative commons, filesharing...

★ <http://ihavexx.livejournal.com> - anarchism and animal rights in St. Petersburg

★ <http://iriele.livejournal.com> - ecology and anarchism in Nizhniy Novgorod

★ http://mikola_a.livejournal.com - anarcho-communism in Belarus

★ <http://shraibman.livejournal.com> - history of anarchist movement, syndicalism (by MPST member)

★ <http://sindicallisto.livejournal.com> - another syndicalist blog by KRAS member

★ <http://streetsmedia.livejournal.com> - Squatting, prisoner support...

★ <http://tupikin.livejournal.com> - Vlad Tupikin

★ <http://vivalafora.livejournal.com> - syndicalism, history of anarchist movement... by KRAS member

Zines:

★ **Girls Are Strong** - St. Petersburg
 gas_zin@mail.ru

★ **Imhopang** - Moscow
 imhopang.punk.ru
 imhopang@yandex.ru

★ **Insomnia** - Moscow
 P.O. Box 64 109147 Moscow Russia

www.myspace.com/insomnia_zine
 endishear@gmail.com
 podonokx@gmail.com

★ **Interpretation** - Moscow
 P.O. Box 16 117437 Moscow Russia
 interpretation_zine@yahoo.com
http://www.myspace.com/interpretation_zine

★ **Kamardzhoba** - Nizhni Novgorod
 crustnn@yahoo.com

★ **Knives and forks** - St. Petersburg
 zilonis@newmail.ru

★ **Liniya Fronta** - St. Petersburg
 frontline@riseup.net

★ **Meet with the resistance** - Magnitogorsk
 razer@ist.ru

★ **My Riot Inward** - Petrozhavodsk
 Alexei Zaikov

★ **S. Kovalevskoi street, 9-108**
 185002 Russia
 scandalsp@mail.ru

★ **No Borders** - St. Petersburg
 noborders@front.ru

★ **Refuse Resist-zine**
<http://www.rfrs-zine.narod.ru>
 rfrs.info@gmail.com

★ **Rod Svart Punk** - Perm
 K.S. Pylaev P.O. Box 6594 Perm Russia
 rod_svalt@front.ru
 ICQ: 354-310-442

SLOVAKIA

★ **Anti-Fascist Groups**

- **Trnava (AFA)** -
 antifa-trnava@safe-mail.net

- **Bratislava (AFA)** -
<http://blava.antifa.net>,
 bacityafa@yahoo.com

- **Bratislava (Autonomna Antifa)** -
 bratislava@antifa.cz

- **Bratislava - nazi monitoring** -
<http://monitor.revolt.org>,
 monitoringba@yahoo.com

★ **Alternative Magazine in slovak language**
 biedaduchay@safe-mail.net

★ **Antifascist Action from Trnava** - antifa-trnava@hushmail.com

★ **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** -
 ciernykriz@yahoo.com

★ **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** -
 slovensko@csaf.cz

- **Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz

- **B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz

- **Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz

- **Vychod** - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com

★ **FNB Trnava** - jedlott@safe-mail.net

★ **KATT** - collective of anarchist tourists,
 kattkolektiv@yahoo.com

★ **Priama Akcia-MAP:** www.priamaakcia.sk

- **Eastern region:** vychod@priamaakcia.sk

- **Bratislava** - ba@priamaakcia.sk

- **Western region** - zapad@priamaakcia.sk

- **International Secretary** -
 intersec@priamaakcia.sk

- **Postal contact** - Priama akcia, P.O. Box 16, 840 08 Bratislava 48, Slovensko

mobile phones:

- +421 949 387 174 - Priama akcia - VA?chod (east)

- +421 949 708 508 - Priama akcia - Bratislava

★ **Info@Police** - www.infoapolice.sk,
 info@infoapolice.sk (Bratislava)

SLOVENIA

★ **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - kultura_kontra@yahoo.com.

★ **Akd Izbruh Kulturni Bazen** - autonomous culture centre in squatted swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk;
 akd_izbruh@yahoo.com

★ **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345,
 anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org,
www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv

★ **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** -
 saf.info@email.si

★ **Union of self-organised workers** -
 SiSD/USW - is_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

UKRAINE

★ **International Union of Proletarian Revolutionary-Collectivists (left-communists in Ukraine)** -
prometej2003@ukr.net, proletar@ukr.net,

<http://iuprc.250free.com>

ARTEMYOVSK:

★ **Age of the youth zine** - Artemyovsk-fnb_art@mail.ru, xvegyx@yandex.ru

DONETSK:

★ **Anarchist Federation of Donetsk** -
samoorg@mail.ru, 83017, Donetsk-17, private box 1819.

KHARKOV:

★ **Animal rights alliance** - save-animals@mail.ru, kharkov@animalrights.ru

★ **Autonomous Action** - akh@nm.ru, antifa@km.ru

★ **Svobodna** - anarcho-feminist web-page (russian language) www.svobodna.org.ua
svobodna@riseup.net

★ **Diyhc** - hardcore/punk web zine,
<http://diyhc.org/>, diyhardcore@gmail.com

★ **FNB** - die.young@riseup.net

★ **People for animal rights** - glazoo@ya.ru

★ **Zaraz** - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives, www.zaraz.org, info@zaraz.org
 Infoshop, <http://infoshop.zaraz.org/>,
infoshop@gmail.com

LVIV:

★ **Antifa** - antifalviv@ua.fm

ODESSA:

★ **Diversiya** - infoshop, Knyazheskaya str 30 - 32,
 ★ **FNB** - animal_rights@riseup.net

RIVNE:

★ **Come Alive** - diy punk/hc concerts,
tolizban@yandex.ru

SEVASTOPOL:

★ **Autonomous Action** - vlasti_net@mail.ru

★ Animal liberation group, Antifa, Food Not Bombs and other activity:
klim_kacha@mail.ru, dzyna@yandex.ru

★ Group active in animal rights, Antifa, Front Aids: keeponfighting@mail.ru

★ **Vlasti net** - zine, vlasti_net@mail.ru

SUMY:

★ **Anarchist Federation** of Sumschina -
<http://www.fas-2017.tk/>, fas-2017@yandex.ru

ZHITOMIR:

★ **FNB** - fnb_zhytomyr@mail.ru, private box 127, Zhitomir, 10014

★ **'Zhyvvy!'** - distro,
www.truemens.narod.ru/distrotr.htm,
truemen@mail.ru

★ **'Veselka'** - distro, makefuture@ukr.net,
diyzyhtomyr@ukr.net

★ **'Suck Out'** - zine,
www.truemens.narod.ru/suckoutzone.htm,
anyom@inbox.ru

★ **'Squat UA'** - zine, truemen@mail.ru

★ **'Far For'** zine - makefuture@ukr.net,
diyzyhtomyr@ukr.net

TURKEY

★ "Aforum" - www.internationala.org
 Anarsist Bakis -

★ anarsistbakis.wordpress.com - archive of anarchist texts

★ **Kaos GL** - www.kaosgl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine

★ www.kaosyayinbari.com - anarchist publisher (in turkish)

★ **Mecmu-a** magazine archive - mecmu-a.orgdnstemplate.com

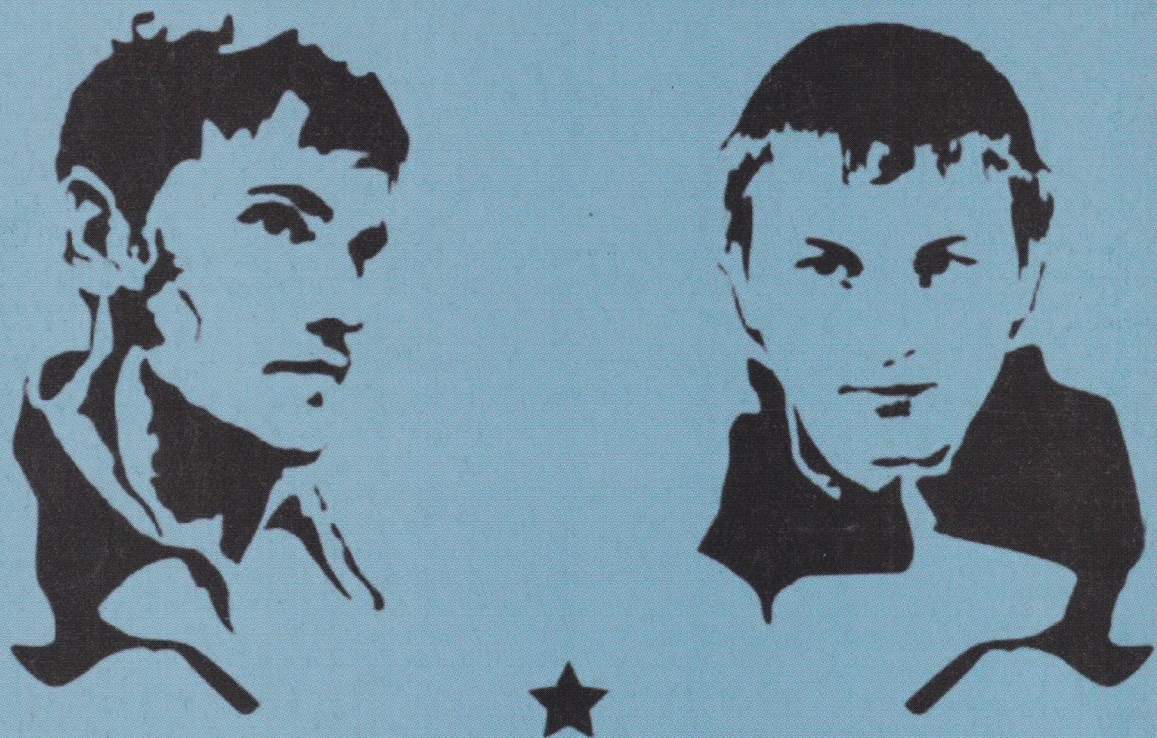
★ **DEVIRIMCi ANARIIST FAALIYET/ Revolutionary Anarchist Action** :
www.anarsistfaaliyet.org - infoshop, cafemail:anarsistfaaliyet@gmail.com

★ **LISE ANARIIST FAALIYET/ High School Anarchist Action** : www.lafisyanda.orgmail:lafisyanda@gmail.com

★ **AHALI GAZETESI** : Ahali monthly magazine (Ankara) :
www.ahalgazetesi.orgmail:ahalgazetesi@gmail.com
 ANARIIST PERSPEKTIF : Anarchist Perspective (Pzmir) :

EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST

support for Alexei and Maxim



and all anarchist prisoners
around the world



ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW